

Correspondence

Public Relations

EDITOR: My staff and I have read Patrick J. Sullivan's "Madison Avenue Mafia" (3/12) with considerable enthusiasm. If it were possible, I would make it required reading in every public relations office, large or small, in America.

HARRY A. BRUNO, President
H. A. Bruno and Associates
New York, N. Y.

EDITOR: Thank you for the study of public relations by a dear friend and one of the most distinguished exponents of the art. Mr. Sullivan is right in asserting that it is just as legitimate an activity as business law, advertising or salesmanship. He is also right in ascribing public suspicion to the ambivalence of many public relations men who refuse to "come to grips with the question whether what we are doing is right or wrong."

In my opinion, this criticism applies with equal force to the other half of Madison Avenue. Many advertising and public relations men are amoral technicians.

The legal profession condemns unethical lawyers. Madison Avenue does not condemn the operator who dreams up a promotion orgy in Miami to sell rock-and-roll records. This is a significant difference.

GARY MACEOIN

Nutley, N. J.

EDITOR: It is to be hoped that Mr. Sullivan's article will help dispel the notion that responsible public relations men are "mind manipulators," "attitude engineers" or even "image merchants."

In my 12 years as a public relations practitioner, I have never seen any legerdemain employed that successfully replaced good deeds as a measure of effective, long-range public relations.

May I point out two false notions which Mr. Sullivan may have inadvertently created. 1) To say that "the only ethics the impersonal large corporation knows is the ethics of whether the public approves or disapproves of its policies" is to suggest that every business decision is formulated primarily on the basis of the likelihood of popular acceptance. Many a company's history is replete with management decisions made with a full realization that they will be unpopular with large segments of its public, but adopted in the interests of ethical management and in fairness to its owners, employees or customers. 2) I am confident that Mr. Sullivan did not intend

to suggest that the public relations man is the sole or even the primary "ethical adviser of the organization which hires him." Writing in the March issue of *Public Relations Journal*, he expressly states his disagreement with the view of "the public relations function as one that dictates policy." I am sorry that his article in your Review did not allow for a fuller exposition of this point.

JOHN W. KENNEY
Chicago, Ill.

EDITOR: You have done a public service by bringing this lucid explanation of an often abused profession to the attention of your readers. Mr. Sullivan's writing reflects his personality and character. Both stand him well in his role as counselor to one of the most important firms in our nation.

FRANK G. M. CORBIN, Vice President
Milburn McCarthy Associates, Inc.
New York, N. Y.

EDITOR: Doubtless the souls of public relations men individually are no blacker than those of doctors, lawyers or professors, but they have a unique distinction: their business almost always involves deceit. Their job is to create a favorable image of a client, an image which rarely corresponds with full, hard truth.

There is nothing inherently evil in the theory of public relations, but in practice it is too often a sophisticated merchandising of half-truths. While Mr. Sullivan and others are exceptions, research shows most public relations men never think beyond the question: will it work? Or at best: how will it look in the paper if our technique is exposed?

JAMES W. ARNOLD
College of Journalism

Marquette University
Milwaukee, Wis.

Proper Function

EDITOR: Congratulations on the excellent discussion of pluralism (3/5). Now to get working on those bridges!

Did anyone ever think of pursuing the topic in this way: The American Church as part of the "Church Teaching" is instructing the universal Church on the value of the U. S. First Amendment? A good subject for the Second Vatican Council, n'est-ce pas?

PATRICK J. WHELAN
Associate Editor, *Times-Review*
La Crosse, Wis.

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Current Comment

Words to Underscore

Loyola University of Chicago deserves great credit for the stimulating symposium, "Pope Leo XIII and the Modern World," which was convened March 18, and which attracted more than 500 scholars and observers. The occasion honored the 150th anniversary of the birth—in March, 1810—of the distinguished Pontiff who ruled the Church of Christ from 1878 to 1903. A few years prior to Leo's advent to the Chair of Peter, the Kingdom of Italy absorbed the Papal States. During his reign democracies multiplied.

One speaker at the symposium, who fittingly and accurately described himself as a "sympathetic observer" of the American scene, was the eminently capable present incumbent of the office of Apostolic Delegate to the United States, Archbishop Egidio Vagnozzi. His lucid and scholarly address, reprinted in part in these pages (p. 6), will long remain a landmark by which all those who travel the road of our contemporary discussions of the Church-State issue must indubitably be guided. Destined to be quoted over and over again are these concluding words:

Whether they remain a minority or become a majority, I am sure American Catholics will not jeopardize their cherished religious freedom in exchange for a privileged position.

In a coming issue the *Catholic Mind* will publish the address in its entirety.

The Ultimate Immorality

One recent Sunday, tucked into an inside page of the drama and entertainment section of the New York Times, there was a sensitive little article by Fitzroy Davis. It stressed the preoccupation of so many modern dramatists with the emotion of fear. If the ultimate immorality of our times is the dehumanization of man, what part does the theatre play in furthering this breakdown of human values? Mr. Davis claims the modern stage is spreading antihumanism like an epidemic disease.

Friedrich Duerrenmatt's "The Visit"; Eugene Ionesco's "The Lesson," "Victims of Duty" and the forthcoming "Rhinoceros"; Tennessee Williams' "Sweet Bird of Youth" and "Suddenly Last Summer"; Albert Camus' "Caligula"—these and similar plays, all surfeited with men and women in private hells of hopelessness and horror, are calculated to banish faith and make us "callous, fatalistic, and almost averse to concepts of virtue and goodness." Their authors seem bent on proving

that humanity has gone beyond the moral point of no return, and will soon have to abandon the Christian philosophy.

There is truly a nightmarish quality about the H-bomb, the missile race, the Red Chinese communes, and even about some aspects of our big cities. Our task as responsible humans is to drive the nightmares away, not sit placidly in our theatre seats and accept without protest a judgment that strips us of responsibility and of our very humanity.

Hint for Publishers

Judging by our incoming mail, production of manuals continues to be a profitable enterprise for publishers. There is really no end to possible projects—and handy manuals on how to go about them. Certain cultural lags in our world of 1960 need attention. How, for instance, dispose of the tea-bag that has just done its service in helping to brew your cheerful cup? Should it rest in the saucer? Society is still uncertain about the disposition of used facial tissues, when vigorous girls have handed them to near-by grown-ups after a particularly acute sneeze.

Now a wonderful suggestion about manuals comes, as you would suspect, from the Air Force. Gen. Thomas D. White, testifying on March 11 before the House Armed Services Committee on Manpower Utilization, stressed the value of manuals to the million men (and women?) in the various air services. However, he explained, because

at one time the Air Force was required to induct airmen in the lowest category of intelligence capable of military service—Category IV—a tendency crept in "to write manuals on every conceivable subject." Now that the Air Force, he said, no longer recruits men of low intelligence, "we no longer need as many manuals as we have in the past."

Here, publishers, is your opportunity. Instead of a talent search, scout around for Category V, the people of no intelligence at all. There would be the predestined market for more and still more manuals. We offer this suggestion without charge. Perhaps we may all wind up by joining Category V ourselves.

Immigration Reform

By the most charitable assessment, U. S. immigration policy, which is determined by the McCarran-Walter Act of 1952, suffers from three shameful disabilities. It is harshly restrictive, limiting the annual number of immigrants to 154,000. It incorporates, through a national origins quota system, shocking racial prejudices. It makes totally inadequate provision for refugees from injustice and persecution.

In his message to Congress on March 17—a very appropriate day—President Eisenhower proposed, not a forthright removal, but a modest alleviation of these disabilities. He suggested 1) that the ceiling on immigrants be raised to about 300,000 annually; 2) that the national origins quota be liberalized in several ways; 3) that refugees from oppression, especially Communist oppression, be permitted easier entry.

Even if all these changes were made, the McCarran-Walter Act would still be hard to reconcile with Christian principles, or for that matter, as the late Secretary of State, John Foster Dulles, testified in 1956, "with the fundamental concepts of our Declaration of Independence." It was disheartening, then, to learn that, even before the President's plan reached Capitol Hill, Rep. Francis E. Walter, chairman of the House Committee on Un-American Activities and a power to be reckoned with in immigration affairs, had issued a statement saying that it "has no chance." We hope that the President will exert all the power and prestige of his office, especially among the Republican minority,

to show the country that Mr. Walter is wrong. In a matter of this kind, Mr. Eisenhower must, in a language he loves, be sure to follow through.

The Big Count

By the end of March the Bureau of the Census will begin its decennial nose-count of the U. S. population.

The first census, back in 1790, showed us to be 3.9 million strong. The 1960 tally is sure to raise the total to 180 million or a shade more.

Painting the statistical portrait of Uncle Sam is a task that grows more complex every decade. This time the job will occupy some 160,000 enumerators, plus the mail carriers of the nation. Householders and floating individuals will be expected to fill out some 75 million forms. Few are likely to evade the census net—the count will even take in hotels and motels and ships at sea. There will be a try at counting vagrants in April.

This time, after the initial legwork is done, automatic computing machines will make the census results quickly available for Government policy planners, sociologists and other interested parties. The main results of the 18th census will probably be ready by October.

When November comes, of course, the President is supposed to report the Big Count to Congress. Why? So that there may be a reapportionment of seats in the House. That, after all, is the constitutional reason why we have a census every ten years.

It is easy to understand then why politicians await the census results with fear and trembling. Our population has not only grown by 30 million since 1950. It has also been a population on the move. The migrations from State to State and the shift from the cities to suburbia are bound to create changes in the balance of political power which will be reflected in the composition of the lower chamber of Congress.

Angry Farmers

As part of the answer to widespread unrest among farmers, consider these two exasperating facts. 1) Although the year just elapsed—despite the 116-day shutdown in steel—was the most prosperous in our history, net farm income

plunged 16 per cent below 1958's \$13.1 billion. 2) This severe blow to farm pocketbooks came in the face of a 2-per-cent increase in volume of production, which sent output to a new record level.

According to preliminary studies, the gross national product last year reached \$478.8 billion. Personal income jumped \$21 billion to \$380 billion. Corporate profits before taxes soared to \$48 billion and after taxes to \$24.6 billion. Dividend payments rose to \$13.2 billion. Average gross weekly earnings in manufacturing reached \$89.47; in retail trade, \$67.06. All these figures set all-time records. In sharp contrast was the drop in farm income to \$11 billion.

Irritation over the income figures was aggravated by the continued advance in farm productivity. In terms of gains in output per man-hour, our 8.4 million farm workers are way ahead of their city cousins. Over a ten-year period ending in 1958, farm production per man-hour increased 80 per cent, or 6 per cent a year. That was 2 or 3 times the increase in non-farm output per man-hour. As a "reward" for this efficiency, the per capita net income of farmers dropped from \$1,043 in 1958 to \$960 last year. It would have dropped more, only the number of farmers receiving the income dropped, too.

If there are some surprises for the politicians in the farm belt next November, these figures may help to explain them.

Canada and Population

Over in Britain's tight little isle, Anglican clergymen worry a good deal about the population bomb. But this is no excuse for exporting their fear to Canada, a land as big as all outdoors, where 17.5 million people rattle around four million square miles like dry peas in a pod.

Nevertheless, a Birmingham canon preached the "real danger of overpopulation" in Montreal on March 7; a peril to be met, righto, by birth control "where the motives are correct." The English visitor also observed that the Catholic "program of self-control is too idealistic." Rum go, what, for a man who crossed the pond to conduct Lenten services in Christ Church Cathedral?

Canada has just emerged from the most prosperous decade in its history. It looks forward to the next with expansive optimism. Here is a vast land, fabulously endowed with iron, oil, gas and just about any natural resource you can name, except people. Ninety per cent of her population hugs the U. S. border. Her potentialities lie undeveloped, not just because Canada needs capital, but because the land is empty of men.

Preaching the "saving pill" of family planning in Canada is like running down the virtues of fresh air on the moon. What Canada needs is stout-hearted men and valiant women—pioneers to challenge the cold and the wilderness. It needs a multitude of human beings to transform nature and make its riches available for the needs of humanity everywhere, including India, over whose dense and hungry millions the visiting canon expressed much concern.

Canada Looks South

Canada, which has always shied away from joining the Organization of American States on account of its slam-bang politics, now seems to be reconsidering its stand-off attitude. That, at least, is what Howard C. Green, Canada's Secretary of State for External Affairs, told a committee of the House of Commons on March 16.

The Canadian Church, too, is looking southward. Six of the bishops of Canada met in Washington last November to discuss Latin America's problems with representatives of the hierarchy of the United States and Latin America. More recently, on Sunday, March 27, a letter from the 78 Canadian archbishops and bishops was read in all the parishes of that country, urging Canadians to help their fellow Catholics in Latin America. The letter announced that a campaign of prayer is being organized, funds will be raised, and priests, religious and lay apostles will be sent to help that area. Special emphasis will be given to founding schools and colleges there.

Furthermore, an Office of Latin America has been established in Ottawa to "channel the requests" and "arrange a comprehensive plan." This wise provision carries out the plea of the Belgian sociologist, the Abbé François Houtart, that aid be sent, not where it

is needed, but where it is *most* needed. Writing in the Buenos Aires biweekly *Criterio* on Dec. 24, 1959, he stated that the Church's personnel and institutions cannot hope to catch up with the soaring growth of Latin America's population. It would be sheer waste, he wrote, to send priests, lay workers or funds where they would not be used with maximum efficiency. The Church must, therefore, "abandon forms and places of the apostolate which are less important" and focus on "the key areas."

That is precisely what the Canadian bishops had in mind in planning so methodically this generous gesture of help to a needy member of Christ's Mystical Body.

British Laborites Feud

Prime Minister Harold Macmillan was reported to have smiled when a fortnight ago he remarked that he would step down from his high position in 1974. What he said, however, was no joke. The way Her Majesty's loyal opposition has comported itself since the Conservative victory last October suggests that Mr. Macmillan can remain in power as long as he wishes.

Following the 1959 defeat at the polls, Labor party leader Hugh Gaitskell, with what seems to us elementary good sense, resolved to jettison some of the Socialist baggage in the party's 1918 constitution. Specifically, he wanted to revamp Clause Four, which commits the party to "common ownership of the means of production, distribution and exchange." That proposal touched off a rousing fight with the left wing which threatened for a while to sunder the party's precarious, live-and-let-live unity. For the moment the firing has ceased, but the compromise reached on March 16, which retains the Socialist language but adds as an amplification Mr. Gaitskell's statement on the place of private enterprise in Britain, really settles nothing. As the *London Times* said editorially the next day:

No amount of fraternal protestation among the principal actors in the drama will serve to conceal the fact that the party was presented with a crucial choice, that it refused the choice, and that by its refusal it has surrendered to a further period of chronic internal contradictions.

In the last general election, the Labor party polled 43.8 per cent of the 35 million votes cast. Whether it remains united or not, it may never win such a large percentage again.

Growth of African Hierarchy

As Africa's territories assume the status of independent and autonomous countries, Rome continues to vote firm confidence in the ability of the native clergy to lead the Church in the difficult period ahead.

In mid-March John Kodjo Amissah was named Archbishop of Cape Coast, the chief see of Ghana. The 37-year old prelate had been auxiliary bishop there since 1957.

In 1939 Most Rev. Joseph Kiwánuka was consecrated by Pope Pius XII Bishop of Masaka in Uganda, and became the first African bishop of modern times. The native hierarchy of Africa now counts 30 members. There are 21 Ordinaries or jurisdictional bishops—including two archbishops and a Cardinal—along with nine auxiliary bishops. During the March 28 consistory, Cardinal Laurian Rugambwa, Bishop of Rutabo in Tanganyika, became the first Negro Cardinal.

In order to pave the way for even greater assumption of native leadership, four European archbishops have resigned their African sees. It is expected that African prelates will shortly be nominated to fill the vacant archbishoprics of Abidjan (Ivory Coast), Wagadougou (Upper Volta), Tabora (Tanganyika) and Tananarive (Madagascar).

As the number of Africa's privileged sons in the hierarchy grows, so does our pride in the young-old Church of Africa. What a special thrill it must be for Catholics of African descent to visualize the lengthening list of distinguished names — Bigirumwami, Mabathoana, Chitsulo, Ranaivo, Ntuyahaga, Nkongolo—the scroll of Roman Catholic bishops.

China Martyrdom

As far as we editors of *AMERICA* are concerned, the sentencing of Maryknoll Bishop James E. Walsh by a Chinese Communist court was a blow struck at one of the family. In one of his last communications with the outside world

in early 1957, Bishop Walsh spoke of the hospitality he had received at the Jesuit residence attached to Christ the King Church in Shanghai. There presumably he had lived as a member of the community until his arrest in October, 1958. Finally brought to trial, he was sentenced on March 18 to 20 years in prison.

The charges were the usual trumped-up accusations Peking has used time and again to dispose of Catholics in Red China. Bishop Walsh was convicted of having directed a group of Chinese Catholics in plots, espionage and counterrevolutionary activity against the state. To make the charges all the more ridiculous, Peking has accused Cardinal Spellman of having acted in concert with Bishop Walsh. Along with the Maryknoller, who first went to China in 1918, Bishop Ignatius Kung Pin-mei, S.J., was sentenced to life imprisonment. Twelve other Chinese priests, eight of them Jesuits, received sentences up to 25 years.

Why this renewed attack on the Church in China? The determination of Bishop Walsh, last U. S. missionary in Red China, to remain with the people he has served so well for some forty years has no doubt proved an embarrassment to the Reds. As for Bishop Kung, he has firmly resisted Peking's efforts to set up a schismatic Chinese Church. While a free man, he was an inspiration to Chinese Catholics. It remains to be seen whether the "conspirators" will be any less of an inspiration as prisoners. We are confident the faith of China's Catholics will remain strong. They have our prayers.

More Than a Spectator

The recent series of imitations of America's foremost newspapers by the Seattle University *Spectator* is a fine example of imaginative journalism with a point.

For nine successive weeks the student weekly produced an issue in imitation of a representative national daily, to make readers aware of the levels and types of American journalism. The student editors skillfully copied the headlines, type faces and general layout—including features and style—distinctive of the particular model.

In each issue a brief history of the model and an account of its journalistic

philosophy were given. With reference to the San Francisco *Daily Examiner*, the original Hearst paper, the *Spectator* explained that "this week we attribute our stress of the sensational to the *Examiner's* tendency to sensationalize and play up news of relatively small importance."

Another week fans of the New York *Daily News* would easily have recognized in the screaming headlines and

generous photo display of the "*Weekly Spec*" their subway tabloid.

The Chicago *Daily Tribune*, whose Midwest conservatism and rock-ribbed Republicanism were mirrored in one of the series, wrote to congratulate the Seattle U. staff on the accuracy of the take-off. The only noticeable omission they found was the *Trib's* page-one weather table.

The imitation of the New York *Times*

was superbly done—dateline stories by genuine S.U. correspondents in Rome and Paris, the full transcript of an important convocation speech, sober editorials on the state of the world, and other distinguishing features of that towering institution of American journalism.

The *Spectator's* delightful course in newspaper discernment itself merits wide imitation.

The Incredible Daddy Grace

WHEN DADDY GRACE died in Washington, D. C., on January 12 of this year, at the age of 78, he joined the long list of departed cult leaders of all epochs and nationalities. There was no uncertainty as to the worldly success of this immensely wealthy and superactive Portuguese Negro preacher and faith-healer. To his literally countless followers he was first and always "Sweet Daddy," who "had everything," and for whom nothing was too good. Surrounded by his adoring disciples, he ate his meals in a continual atmosphere of lush adulation, protected by his brightly uniformed Grace Guards. Money was recklessly thrown at him. His followers delighted in constructing little houses plastered with banknotes. The number and variety of valuable presents—such as expensive cars—passes belief.

According to Phil Casey, staff reporter for the Washington *Post*, Daddy Grace left (conservatively estimated) \$12 million. Says Mr. Casey, in a series of seven articles in the Washington *Post*, March 7-15:

Daddy's church and other properties held in his name as trustee for the church are extensive. They span 14 States and the D. C. They include apartment houses, stores and other commercial properties, and his homes and apartments, of which there are about a dozen. The homes range from a \$375,000, 84-room mansion in Los Angeles to less pretentious and costly but comfortable homes along the East Coast. Daddy has a mansion and a 22-acre estate near Havana, and large houses in New Bedford, New Haven, Montclair (N. J.), Philadelphia, Washington, Newport News, Charlotte (N. C.), Detroit, and possibly elsewhere.

There is no doubt as to his incredible activity during the 34 years of his cult leadership. He was out on the road, by his own account, 300 days of each year, preaching, working miracles and baptizing. To cope with the thousands of baptisms, he resorted to a fire-hose. The wild confusion at one of his public baptisms caused a drowning. On that occasion, Daddy said, he was too upset in spirit to bring the dead man back to life.

With all Daddy's exhibitionism, there are some puzzling elements in his career, such as his sudden emergence in public. The flamboyant preacher, with his red, silver and blue fingernails, long hair, fancy cutaways and flashy jewelry, was born Marcelino Manoel da

Graça, on January 25, 1881, in Brava, Cape Verde Islands, a Portuguese territory off the West African coast. One of ten children, he journeyed to the New Bedford area around 1900, and worked as a short-order cook, salesman and grocer for several years. How Marcelino suddenly became an "apostle" is not yet explained. He divorced his first wife, who is still living and has never acknowledged the divorce.

Several other features add to the mystery of Daddy. His immense holdings and lavish expenditures led him into a chronic contest with the U. S. Department of Internal Revenue Service, which still continues after his death. Yet he always managed to stand the IRS off. Despite the recurring waves of feminine adorers, he always came out best in his various legal tussles with female claimants. Wary of Father Divine's example (he purchased Father Divine's "Heaven" in Harlem), he hedged carefully on the claim to being God. He adroitly evaded too intimate questions touching his own personality, and refused to be drawn out. He called everybody "Honey" and spoke in parables all day. Those non-cultists who were intimate with him were attracted by a certain shrewd honesty and simplicity, probably due to his Portuguese peasant background. Moreover he insisted—as did Father Divine—upon certain conventional rules of personal morality among his followers: no licentiousness, no smoking, drinking, card-playing or dancing. He was apparently a quite accomplished linguist and musician.

While no exact replica of Sweet Daddy and his House of Prayer may be expected in the near future, other cult leaders are ready to take his place. They are the natural fruit of the racial ghetto. A very grave danger is that they will far exceed Daddy's reign of sentiment and demonstrative religiosity, and will exploit the poisonous fires of ethnic nationalism and antiwhite prejudice, with the Communists skillfully stoking the fires. One such movement, for Pan-Islamism, is already in full swing, and others will follow suit. The outcropping of such movements is a painful witness to the lack of sound political and moral leadership in the local Negro community. And it demonstrates again the urgent need of bringing to this and similar communities the full message and measure of the Church's catholicity.

JOHN LAFARGE

Religious Liberty in America

On March 18 in Chicago, the Apostolic Delegate to the United States, ARCHBISHOP EGIDIO VAGNOZZI, addressed a Loyola University symposium on the writings and influence of Pope Leo XIII. We publish below some excerpts from his address.

IN REGARD TO FREEDOM as applied to religious belief and worship, Pope Leo XIII held, consistently with his teaching on liberty in general, that true liberty is exercised only when a person accepts and practices what is true about God and His law, according to the dictates of reason and divine revelation.

However, this does not mean that either the Catholic Church or a Catholic state may use any coercive measures to induce non-Catholics to become Catholics. In his encyclical on the Christian constitution of states (*Immortale Dei*), Pope Leo XIII stated emphatically: "The Church is wont to take earnest heed that no one shall be forced to embrace the Catholic faith against his will, for, as St. Augustine wisely reminds us, 'Man cannot believe otherwise than of his own free will.'" More recently, Pope Pius XII repeated this doctrine: "Therefore, whenever it happens, despite the invariable teaching of this Apostolic See, that anyone is compelled to embrace the Catholic faith against his will, Our sense of duty demands that We condemn the act" (*Mystici Corporis*).

Pope Leo XIII repeated with great clarity and firmness that only in the Catholic Church is to be found the full measure of religious truth and the divinely prescribed form of worship: "Since, then, the profession of one religion is necessary in the state, that religion must be professed which alone is true, and which can be recognized without difficulty, especially in Catholic states, because the marks of truth are, as it were, engraved upon it. This religion, therefore, the rulers of the state must preserve and protect if they would provide—as they should—with prudence and usefulness for the good of the community" (*Libertas Praestantissimum*).

This quotation is often repeated to prove that the Catholic Church expects the state to be intolerant of religions other than the Catholic. However, those who argue along this line usually fail to quote these words of the same Pope Leo in his *Immortale Dei*: "The Church, indeed, deems it unlawful to place the various forms of divine worship on the same footing as the true religion, but does not on that account condemn those rulers who, for the sake of procuring some great good or of hindering some great evil, patiently allow custom or usage to be a kind of sanction for each kind of religion having its place in the state."

Pope Pius XII developed this idea with even greater clarity in an address to the Union of

Italian Catholic Jurists (*Ci Riesce*, 12/6/53): "The affirmation that religious and moral error must be impeded when it is possible, because toleration of them is in itself immoral, is not valid absolutely and unconditionally. God has not given even to human authority such an absolute and universal command in matters of faith and morality. Such a command is unknown to the common convictions of mankind, to Christian conscience, to the sources of revelation and to the practice of the Church. . . . The duty of repressing moral and religious error cannot therefore be an ultimate norm of action. It must be subordinate to higher and more general norms, which in some circumstances permit, and even seem to indicate as the better policy, toleration of error in order to promote a greater good."

Later on in the same address, Pope Pius says: "The concordats are for her [the Catholic Church] an expression of the collaboration between the Church and the State." Then he adds the following significant words: "In principle, that is, in theory, she cannot approve complete separation of the two powers." But, in practice, the Church will not interfere, and has not interfered, in local situations where separation of Church and State may be considered the greater and more general good.

In considering freedom as applied to religious belief and worship, it is well to remind ourselves that the very concept of complete separation between Church and State is a relatively modern idea. Even some of the larger Protestant denominations were born out of a stricter and more nationalistic interpretation of a close relationship between religion and the civil power.

In the practical field of relations with civil powers, the Catholic Church shows, with reciprocal international agreements called concordats, a considerable variety of provisions in particular questions, depending on local traditions, customs and practices. In fact, it is extremely difficult to define the neat line of demarcation between the domain of the Church and that of the State. Actually, even in some traditionally and predominantly Catholic lands, no preferential juridical recognition is granted to the Catholic Church.

As far as the United States is concerned, I feel that it is a true interpretation of the feelings of the hierarchy and of American Catholics in general to say that they are well satisfied with their Constitution and pleased with the fundamental freedom which their Church enjoys; in fact they believe that this freedom is to a large extent responsible for the expansion and consolidation of the Church in this great country. Whether they remain a minority or become a majority, I am sure American Catholics will not jeopardize their cherished religious freedom in exchange for a privileged position. ARCHBISHOP EGIDIO VAGNOZZI

Washington Front

When Politicians Speak "Off the Record"

SUPPOSE YOU ARE a Government official or a political leader and you want to pass on something to reporters without being identified as the source of the information. What you do is to meet with a carefully selected group of newsmen at lunch or dinner, and talk to them on what is called a "background" basis.

Then it is understood that the reporters can publish what you say to them but must hide your identity by using such literary devices as "a high Administration official," "a party leader" or "a well-posted source."

It hardly ever works; no secret (excluding national security affairs) long remains a secret in this gossip-loving town. This is not because the favored reporters are blab-mouths who are unable to keep a confidence; that isn't the case at all, or they would not be invited to background conferences.

But they have to tell somebody where they got their information if they are to get it into the paper—their editors, for example, and perhaps the desk men who handle their copy. Sometimes, too, they tell other correspondents whom they feel they can trust.

Inevitably there is a leak. And it can be explained by something that Fr. Robert H. Wharton, writing about an entirely different matter, said recently in the *Catholic Standard* here: "Actually most persons can keep a secret. It's just that the folks they tell them to can't."

Anyway, the Washington landscape is littered with

masks torn off officials who tried to talk on a background basis.

In 1954 a sensation was caused when "a high Government official" said that the United States would use troops if necessary to save Indochina from the Communists. The high official turned out to be Vice President Nixon, and he was identified by the Washington correspondent of the London *Times*. The same thing happened in 1958 when the late Secretary of State John Foster Dulles, behind the mask of "a high-ranking American official," said that American armed forces would be used to keep Red China out of Quemoy. So transparent was the evasion in this case that Dulles a few days later unmasked himself.

The latest furore involves Paul M. Butler, chairman of the Democratic National Committee, who seems to have an affinity for hot water. He has not denied the charge that he was "the Democratic party leader" who, at dinner with a group of political reporters, predicted that Sen. John F. Kennedy of Massachusetts would win his party's Presidential nomination if he triumphs in the April 5 Wisconsin primary election.

Chairman Butler's job is in no danger; only his reputation as a political prophet is at stake now. He was represented as saying that there will be no stopping Kennedy at the Los Angeles convention if he gets 54 per cent or more of the Wisconsin primary vote and wins six of the Badger State's ten Congressional Districts; that Sen. Stuart Symington of Missouri and Adlai E. Stevenson of Illinois will have the best chance for the nomination if Kennedy stumbles, and that Senators Lyndon B. Johnson of Texas and Hubert H. Humphrey of Minnesota have no chance at all.

EDWARD T. FOLLARD

On All Horizons

WORKSHOP IN LISBON. The St. Louis University Workshop in Human Relations and Group Guidance, to be held in Lisbon, Portugal, July 31 to Aug. 31, will include a ten-day trip through Spain. Details from Rev. Trafford P. Maher, S.J., Human Relations Center, 221 N. Grand, St. Louis 3, Mo.

► **PRACTICAL CATHOLICISM.** Now in its third year, *Social Action Digest* is an informative monthly newsletter dedicated to the Christian reconstruction of social and economic life (Fr. Hubert F. Schiffer, S.J., Institute of Social Order, Loyola University, New Orleans 18, La. \$1 yearly).

► **DISASTER UNIT.** The 9th Civil Defense Religious Affairs Course will be held May 16-19 at the national CD

headquarters. Its purpose is to study the role of the clergyman and his church in the event of a nuclear attack. For further information, write to the Religious Affairs Office, Office of Civil and Defense Mobilization, Battle Creek, Mich.

► **PRAYER LEAFLETS.** Leaflets with a prayer for the beatification of Pope Pius XII and the leaflets containing prayers for the missions are now available from Fr. Francis Studer, O.S.B., St. John's Abbey, Collegeville, Minn. Postage would be appreciated.

► **FOR EXCELLENCE.** We congratulate the *Monitor*, newspaper of the Archdiocese of San Francisco, recent winner of the McGeary Foundation Gold Medal conferred annually "for the

best treatment of a book or books in a Catholic diocesan newspaper." The writer of the prize essay, William B. Ready of Marquette University, who reviewed the novels of Joyce Cary, will receive \$500.

► **THEOLOGY FOR LAYMEN.** The Serra School of Theology announces its summer session, June 20-July 29, at Quincy College, Quincy, Ill. The session is open to laymen and women with a Master's degree or its equivalent. The program is aimed at a study of theology joined with the opportunity to learn how this knowledge can be put to work in one's daily life.

► **SCHOOL FOR PASTORS.** An institute for advanced study of parish problems will be held June 19 to Aug. 14 at Conception Seminary, Conception, Mo. This year's program offers courses in pastoral sociology, psychiatry and biblical pedagogy. W. E. S.

Editorials

Battle for Berlin: Second Phase

BREAKING AWAY from the cordial round of official meetings and receptions, Chancellor Konrad Adenauer of the West German Federal Republic went alone to Arlington National Cemetery during his visit to Washington and stood for a few minutes of silent prayer beside the grave of John Foster Dulles. Better than words could have done, the Chancellor's quiet gesture expressed his conviction that the only way to deal with Soviet Russia over Berlin was not to deal at all. The slippery road of concession, as he and the late Secretary of State were always certain, could lead only to surrender and to disaster for the West.

But Chancellor Adenauer is a realistic statesman. He knows that he must deal with the living, and this means with four men in the West. They are President de Gaulle, Prime Minister Macmillan, President Eisenhower and Secretary of State Herter. The Chancellor tested the fourth for the first time at great length in Washington and came away comforted and impressed. He discovered that although Mr. Herter's techniques may differ from Mr. Dulles', his political boldness and his moral firmness vis-à-vis Russia are no less awesome. In consequence, the German Chancellor left for Tokyo happy in the assurance that, while Secretary Herter believed in probing to determine if any basis of general agreement with Khrushchev exists, he has no illusions about the likelihood of broad accord at the forthcoming summit. Herter is as convinced as Adenauer that, if confronted with firmness over Berlin, the Russians will back down from their extreme position as they have done in the past.

The reconnaissance which will decide whether anything constructive can come from the summit in the political field, as distinguished from some accord in principle in the nuclear-testing and disarmament fields and in an extension of cultural exchanges, is President de Gaulle's meeting with Khrushchev in Paris. With the full agreement of his partners in the West, de Gaulle will probe to ascertain what is left of the Spirit of Camp

David—that is, to what extent the Soviet Premier is still sincere in his assertion made to President Eisenhower that he is willing to cooperate in lessening East-West tensions. Certainly since the beginning of 1960, Khrushchev, directly in public statements or indirectly through his ambassadors, has hardened his position to such an extent that serious consideration has been given in some circles in Washington to the possibility of calling off the summit altogether. It should be kept in mind that President Eisenhower agreed to the meeting at the summit in return for Khrushchev's assurance that it would not take place under the shadow of a threat or ultimatum. However, in his recent speeches the Russian Premier has come so close to renewing the time limit on negotiation over Berlin, and he has been so threatening over the consequences of the West's failure promptly to accept his terms, that it has become questionable whether any discussion of Berlin would be profitable or wise.

"No discussion of Berlin" is the extreme position in the West. It is not shared in London, and President Eisenhower, who is at the center of the negotiation and perforce has to listen to all sides, is inclined to take a less rigid stand in order to carry the British with him. In effect, he told Chancellor Adenauer that he had committed himself at Camp David, after much pressure from Prime Minister Macmillan, to discuss Berlin at the summit. Certain motions, as a consequence, would have to be gone through and certain face-saving formulas would have to be aired in order to hold a back door open through which Khrushchev might retreat if he sincerely wishes "coexistence" with the West. But the basic position of the West in Berlin will be held intact. The objective will be to gain time—time for the President to make his visit to Russia in June before Khrushchev can take unilateral action over Berlin, and time after that for a second summit, perhaps in the autumn. This seems to promise—if not assure—the peoples of the world "peace in our time."

The Men and the Boys

A FEW WEEKS AGO, one of our contributors wondered about the disappearance of young Catholic crusaders. Some readers felt Fr. Andrew Greeley was too pessimistic in his lament (3/19) for the vanished race of "radicals." As we round out the second month of protests by Negro students in the South, his thesis seems firmer each day. For surely now is one of those hours when the men stand apart from the boys.

Though it hurts a bit to admit it, the *men*—and

women, for that matter—are not stepping forth from a Loyola, Manhattanville, Notre Dame, Georgetown, St. Mary's or Fordham. Instead, those who rise to be counted in what promises to be a major social crusade of our new decade are the sons of Eli and old Nassau and Vassar's valiant daughters. This Review has not failed on occasion to note some intellectual, social and moral shortcomings on the major secular campuses of the country. Today, however, we wait to learn from

some sociologist or theologian—or anyone—what has happened to a generation of Catholic collegians. Why their apparent reluctance to leave semi-ivied halls, while the “unredeemed” seek justice in the land?

By this date President Eisenhower has gone somewhat on record. As he told a reporter in his press conference of March 16, he can't judge the protests because of his limited knowledge about them. But he feels “deeply sympathetic with the efforts of any groups to enjoy the rights of equality.” (He also advanced a proposal similar to AMERICA's, of March 5, for leadership by interracial committees in each city.)

Some Catholics, to be sure, have supported the Negro protests. The National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice (organ of the Catholic Interracial Councils) hailed them as proof of a “healthy consciousness among Negroes of their dignity.” From San Antonio, too, came heartening word that a freshman in Our Lady of the Lake College had sparked a campaign resulting in the peaceful removal of discrimination at downtown lunch counters in that city. Interestingly enough, 17-year-old Mary Lillian Andrews is also president of the San Antonio Youth Group of the National Association

for the Advancement of Colored People—a fact meriting the attention of any young pundits on northern Catholic campuses who have been in the habit of pontificating about the “extremist” nature of the NAACP.

Few students in Catholic schools, we feel, disagree with Florida's Governor LeRoy Collins when he terms it “unfair and morally wrong” to refuse service to Negroes in one department of a store in which they were invited to trade. Why is it, then, that few of them, other than the student representatives of the Catholic University of America, feel constrained to show solidarity with fellow students now under pressure in the South for their use of prudent, nonviolent means of protest?

Three decades ago, a reason had to be discovered why Catholic graduates felt so little concern over labor's battle for its rights. Then, the failure was blamed on the fact that papal teaching about social justice had not yet reached the classrooms. Are today's students waiting for someone to pass the word that another body of Americans is marching for justice' sake? “Radicalism,” as Father Greeley remarked, “is not a good in itself.” But a passion for justice is a good that no man should deny himself. Is it alive on Catholic campuses?

The Smoker and His Conscience

THE EMBATTLED CIGARETTE, long on trial as a hazard to health, seems doomed to conviction. The case against the “noxious weed” has been strengthened lately, according to a booklet, *Cigarettes and Health*, by Pat McGrady, science editor for the American Cancer Society. The booklet is available for 25 cents from the Public Affairs Committee, 22 East 38th Street, New York 16, N. Y.

Five years ago, most of the evidence showing a link between heavy cigarette smoking and lung cancer was statistical in character. More recent studies, chemical and biological in nature, have not only buttressed the still mounting statistical data, but have tended to show a direct causal link between smoking and the accelerating incidence of lung cancer. Moreover, according to Mr. McGrady, the case against cigarettes has been strengthened by new indications of “tobacco's probable involvement in a few other diseases, particularly the greatest killer of them all, coronary artery disease.”

The issuance of Mr. McGrady's pamphlet raises once again the question: Does the heavy smoker have a moral obligation to “get the monkey off his back” by breaking the cigarette habit? We cannot pretend to have the answer to this question, but perhaps we can help put it in focus for the “thinking man” with his prophylactic filter.

The lowly “butt,” if we may paraphrase Fr. John C. Ford, S.J., an outstanding Catholic moralist, belongs to the wide spectrum of “chemical comforts” that men use to satisfy a host of minor needs. The list runs from aspirin and alcohol to energizers and tranquilizers, and it also includes caffeine, sugar and salt. All these adjuncts of life have a legitimate place in our scale of values. There is no problem, generally speaking, in

their use. The problem lies in finding the Golden Mean that governs *moderate* use. What does prudence dictate? What does temperance demand? Alas, it is very difficult to set down universal norms that bind everyone. Temperance is the most personal of virtues. It is learned by experience in the school of hard knocks, even when one has the best will in the world. For the most part, what constitutes the right norm of indulgence as well as what motives justify the use of chemical comforters (which are all poisonous in excess) must be left to the sincere judgment of the individual conscience in each particular case.

This would appear to be so even in the hard case of the young, male, heavy cigarette smoker who is the most likely victim of lung cancer or heart disease. It is at present impossible to impose on him a clear obligation to stop or reduce his inhalation of tobacco smoke, no matter what may be the link between butts and biers. After all, nobody demands that the social drinker renounce alcohol, even though one drinker in fifteen becomes an alcoholic. Nobody argues that we must all move into the country, just to avoid the dangers of breathing metropolitan smog. Nobody tells the Indians to come down out of the Andes just to dodge the risks of higher exposure to harmful cosmic rays. Neither do smokers have any clear duty to reduce the risk of lung cancer, just so they may improve their chances of being struck down by a Thunderwagon on Main Street. All life is a hazard, every breath a stratagem against death. The man who inhales fifty cigarettes today may choke on Friday's sardines. Meanwhile, his judgment on balancing the comforts of nicotine against the calculated risk of bronchial disaster had better be left between his conscience and his God.

Democracy in Young Africa

Neil G. McCluskey

A YEAR AGO in October, the people in what was then French Guinea voted to secede from the French Overseas Community and to make their Wyoming-sized country on the west coast of Africa an independent republic. The morning after the French administrators had taken their leave of Conakry, the capital city, the exuberant populace climbed aboard the public buses and became indignant when the usual attempts were made to collect fares. After all, had not Guinea now achieved democracy? And didn't this mean that in a people's democracy all things were controlled by the people?

After a few days trial, a village of natives on the other side of Africa, in the Bukavu region of the Belgian Congo, moved out of their new government-built cottages of cement blocks and corrugated tin roofs and moved in their goats and cattle. They built mud-and-thatch huts alongside for themselves, explaining that they found their own housing cooler by day and warmer by night.

Both incidents tell dramatically of the rudeness of the African soil in which the transplanted shoots of Western-style democracy—and so much else of our Western civilization—are struggling to grow. The countries of the West, perhaps our own most of all, look upon the apparatus of democracy as a sort of sacrament, a mystical something with power to work by itself apart from the instincts and attitudes of a people grown to some level of political maturity. In reality, the ballot box, a parchment constitution and an elected parliament have nowhere by themselves created a full-blown democracy. There is little likelihood that the new nations of Africa or those coming to term on the continent will prove exceptions.

What does democracy find when it comes to newly awakened Africa? Can the people there really govern themselves? Will the new countries forming in Black Africa develop a "democracy" of their own? Will that vast area of nine million square miles below the Sahara (three times the size of the continental U.S.A.) line up with the democratic West or the totalitarian East?

In 1945, when World War II came to a halt, there were on the continent only four independent countries: Egypt, Ethiopia, Liberia and the Union of South Africa. Since then, they have been joined by Tunisia, Morocco, Libya, Sudan, Ghana, Guinea and Cameroon. By the close of this year Nigeria, Somalia and Togoland

will have raised the number of independent African nations to 14. On June 30 the Belgian Congo will be free to strike out on its own. Tanganyika, already holding a pledge from Britain for self-government this year, is also close to complete independence. Neighboring Kenya and Uganda are determined not to remain behind.

Senegal and French Sudan now enjoy internal autonomy as members of the loose French African *Communauté*, but are pressing for full independence and union with one another as the "Mali Federation." The big island of Madagascar is making upon France the same demand for independence, and, to avoid any invidious suggestion that they are being left behind in a second-class membership, the other nine African members of the French Community on the continent can be expected to follow suit. In passing, it ought to be noted that when all these political births have taken place, the then 30 new and old nations from Africa will be the commanding bloc in a United Nations Assembly of 102 members.

WE WILL BE FREE

The tide of nationalism is sweeping along at full crest and is carrying before it the careful timetables and orderly procedures devised by the European colonial powers to prepare the Africans for self-government. Nationalism is the basic fact of political life everywhere on the continent except in the Portuguese and Spanish territories. Whether the colonizing powers should have so quickly capitulated to African importuning for independence has become an idle question. Today, only planes and tanks could contain the tide—a grim alternative hardly whispered outside the Union of South Africa. An allied army forcing the white man's political will upon Africa would divide the world for generations. Every man of color on the globe would be born an enemy of a hated white race, already a minority in the world.

Sir Roy Welensky, Prime Minister of the Federation of the Rhodesias and Nyasaland, complained bitterly to this writer about the irresponsibility of England, France and Belgium in their surrender to black nationalism. To run from a civilizing task half-done is cowardice, he said. Many settler leaders in Africa agree with Sir Roy's assumptions that the white man has a moral responsibility toward the betterment of the native, and that the African's immediate needs are of the economic order. Those of this mind are convinced that if the six million Europeans (one-half in the Union of South Africa) sur-

FR. MCCLUSKEY, one of AMERICA's associate editors, spent three months in Africa this winter.

render political control to the 165 million natives, it will mean abandoning these African masses to the tyranny of their own people as well as inviting the destruction of the fruits of the white man's genius and industry.

Solid grounds exist for this dual concern, but this is still not the point. The African no longer wants to be "the white man's burden." In fact, the African is no longer willing to accept the white man in Africa on the old terms. He is ready, however, to suffer exploitation and oppression—if need be—provided these come from his own. He is prepared to let his country be run for him by political bullies and incompetents, provided they are black like himself. He is willing to forego the white man's economic help and to stay hungry, if the price of a fuller stomach is continued subservience to European authority.

It should also be kept in mind that the drive for African nationalism is more a matter of gaining independence than freedom. "Independence" for the African mind is an uncomplicated concept. In its simplest terms it means the end of domination by the European *Bwana* or master. It is not that the *Bwana* should go. In fact, once independence is gained, the white man can double his numbers and can exert more influence in a new advisory role. This is what happened in Ghana. But Africanization calls for an African to be sitting at the big desk out front and to be addressed with some sonorous title. The ordinary black functionary would not dream of dispensing with the European consultant seated at a smaller desk in a side office, nor would any African government bureau think of letting go the white adviser in the background, who perhaps spends much of his weekend keeping his chief's accounts straight.

Individual freedom in Africa, on the other hand, has always been a rare commodity. The ordinary African enjoyed small freedom within the ancient tribal organization of society. He has not been aware of any larger freedom under the white man's rule, with the result that he is not particularly impressed by warnings that he will lose his freedom once his own leaders come to power. While it is true that the spread of education and the move to the cities have weakened the feudal agrarian structure, in many areas of the continent men continue to serve the chief or family head with the same absolute homage that predated the arrival of the European. Just what political convictions the ordinary villager has, and how interested or independent he is in expressing them, are not much more relevant in 20th-century Africa than they were in 14th-century England.

WHERE ARE THE LEADERS?

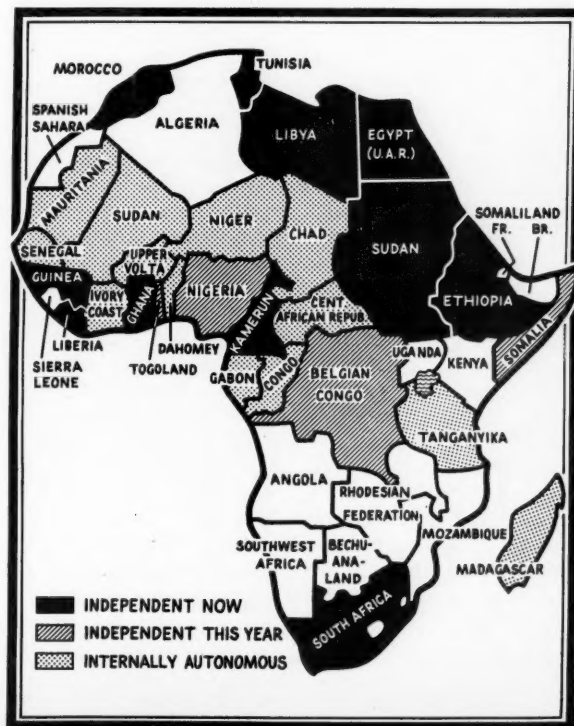
Given talent, ambition and opportunity, leaders are to be found wherever men gather. How ready is the African to govern himself? The answer is not simple. Personal initiative and the assumption of responsibility are not conspicuous so far among the new class of African public servants: the trappings of office and the emoluments that accrue to the officeholder are. Venality, dullness and incompetence are not yet serious hindrances to an opening or advancement in a public career, especially when these traits are compensated for

by a towering idealism. At times the visitor to one of the new nations sees in the cabinet of ministers the typical student council of an American high school—the same earnestness and enthusiasm along with the same comic lapses from responsibility.

The ideal of public service is often magnificently realized at the highest level of office, but the dedication of the few leaders on the top rung is not widely imitated by the bulk of their subordinates. Corruption is cheerfully tolerated. The "dash" is a venerable institution throughout much of Africa. Almost no service can be expected—from a simple visa stamp at the police station to an intravenous feeding in a government hospital—without a monetary consideration or "dash."

Foreign business heads are in despair over the scarcity of competent African personnel with even good secondary schooling to assume junior managerial positions. But these slots must be filled, and so must an ever increasing number of cabinet posts and high government jobs. Frequently enough, the hopeful principle is invoked that one must learn by doing.

What is more unnerving to many observers is that everywhere on the continent Africans are in such a hurry. A visit to a remote village in the steamy Upper Volta country or in the cool mountains of Ruanda-Urundi reveals a Stone Age crudeness of living that defies description. But the spirit of the new Africa has penetrated here, too. The young people particularly are on the move. Out of the bush they come, heading for the cities. They exchange a hut and a hoe for a tenement and a wage, and become a part of the undigested urban masses of Dakar, Léopoldville, Salisbury or



Johannesburg. Only two of them in ten can read or write, and probably half of the ten will live on a bare subsistence level. These are the people upon whom nationalist leaders are attempting to build a mid-20th century democracy. No gradual evolution will there be for Africa: the continent is leaping from the Dark Ages into the nuclear age. Africa *will* independence and popular democracy and Africa is hungry for the material benefits that an advanced political status brings. This tremendous eagerness explains in great part the African attraction for Marxist socialism.

COLLECTIVISM: THE PROBABLE SOLUTION

It may be humbling for most of us to realize that the African has no natural leaning toward the ideology of the West. For long centuries Africa lay undisturbed by European culture. The natives' most forceful introduction to the white man's civilization was not to its moral and religious philosophy but rather to its inhumane economic base. In view of the black man's experience as a chattel in the white economy, he can be excused for a lack of enthusiasm over the free-enterprise system. Again, the religions of Africa—animism, fetishism or even Islam—have not conditioned the native to appreciate what is so basic to the Judeo-Christian theory of life, that is, the personal dignity and transcendent worth of the individual man or woman or child. The cinema and the illustrated periodical, the shopping emporium and the free-spending visitor, however, have taught the African more about our economics than about our philosophy, have impressed him more with our standard of living than with its spiritual support. And though the material prosperity of Western countries is much admired (and envied), the ordinary African leader casting about for the most efficacious means of raising his people from the bush life is, in all likelihood, going to find a non-Western, collectivist approach to his problems the alluring one.

He surveys his task. Industry must be started, commerce gotten under way, jobs created. But local capital is nonexistent and foreign investment is problematical. Roads and harbors must be dug, housing and schools and hospitals built, erosion and disease control undertaken, agricultural and marketing reforms begun, technicians and specialists found in numbers. These objectives, he decides, cannot wait on the leisurely development of a capitalist economy, and they are too vast for private initiative or mission charity. How can the African leader discipline his people, harness their energy and move them in an efficient way to national goals?

From one end of the continent to the other the replies come down to the use of some form of collectivism, be it qualified as "Socialist," "Christian," "African," "Marxist" or "Communist." And the success story that has fascinated the African most of all is that of Red China. The Chinese propaganda mills have done a superb job. Beautifully illustrated brochures recount the story of how Marxism has transformed the Chinese nation from a hopelessly backward people into the mightiest power in the modern world. (Item: Remember their great victory in Korea over the decadent U.S.A. and its

United Nations stooges?) The miracle that the People's Republic of China performed within a space of ten years can be worked again. Nowhere has *l'expérience chinoise*, as the story is called, made a stronger impression than in West Africa, and no country there has been quicker to build itself on the Chinese model than Guinea.

Some analysts are convinced that President Sékou Touré's country will soon be completely and irretrievably Marxist. They think that Guinea will end up on the Communist spectrum somewhere between Tito's Yugoslavia and Mao's China. Other viewers take a more optimistic position. They point out that up to now Kremlin influence upon Guinea has been balanced by that of other countries in the forefront of the drive for African independence, notably Ghana and Liberia. Both Nkrumah and Liberia's crafty old President William V. S. Tubman can point to the economic development, mounting prosperity and international prestige of their countries. They can argue that Ghana and Liberia achieved these happy results with the help of powerful Western friends who respected their independence but that the Russian and Chinese satellites, on the other hand, had to give up independence for whatever benefits they may have received.

Another counter in the East-West game in this part of Africa is the emergence of Nigeria, destined to become the most powerful black nation on the continent. Nigeria, let it be recalled, is larger in area than France and Italy combined and has a population equal to Poland's and Austria's together. More advanced educationally and economically than any of her neighbors, Nigeria has a heart and mind that is solidly with the West.

DEMOCRACY OR COMMUNISM?

Despite Guinea, communism cannot yet be considered an effective force in African nationalism, but it definitely remains a threat as the new nations take the first halting steps along the path of self-government. It is certain that native leaders will more and more make use of the collectivist approach to solve some of their economic and social problems. A little collectivism, however, is not a bad thing and, granted the prevailing conditions in Africa, can be justified. The danger is that a bit of collectivism can easily become a lot of collectivism. Neither Liberia's Tubman nor Ghana's Nkrumah are running textbook-model democracies. But so far at least, they have not let the collectivist approach obliterate basic human values and rights. At one point in our conversation the Ghanaian leader remarked: "What good is it to engage in a long, exhausting struggle to elevate your people, when in the process you destroy the very things you want to give them?"

The forms that democratic government are assuming, none the less, even in countries like Ghana and Liberia, appear to many as ugly apings of the true reality of democracy. Yet history gives us some consolation here. Every one of the Western nations had to pass through the cruder forms of democracy before achieving its present level of political sophistication. (As a matter of

record, how much sophistication have most of the democracies of Central and South America—or even some of those in Europe—so far achieved?) The United States itself lived through the “Alien and Sedition Acts” of 1789, and there wasn’t much democracy in evidence when the ruling Federal party used these laws to exile articulate members of the Republican opposition and to muzzle their press.

Granted that African democracy smacks of absolutism, at this stage of evolution how much political opposition can be allowed? The savage intertribal fights that only a year ago resulted in several hundred deaths in the Republic of the Congo and that last January witnessed the bloody baptism of Cameroon as an independent nation were expressions of “political opposition.” How wise is it to encourage full freedom of political expression among a simple people whose easily aroused feelings propel them swiftly to mob violence? On the other hand, provided that individual human rights are not destroyed, the curtailment of their exercise in a “guided” or “strong-man” democracy is defensible as the necessary transition to full popular democracy.

For one thing, this kind of democracy does have the

enthusiastic consent of the governed. Once the people have placed their leader upon the pinnacle, they are not concerned with limiting his power. He is the embodiment of national pride and a symbol before the world of their national sovereignty. So long as the political honeymoon lasts, the people will identify leader, party and country. What need, then, for an opposition?

But the political situation in Africa is not all bleak. The leaven of democracy is working steadily within the lump. In some countries there already is effective political opposition within the single-party structure. As the level of popular education rises, so will the demand for the normal machinery of political life. Sensitivity to international opinion will likewise moderate absolutist tendencies. The young African nations want to be accepted as equals in the community of nations. They are not only eager to appear fully civilized, but they are chagrined over any telltale traces of barbarism that might lower them in the world’s esteem. Moreover, they know that their hopes of attracting badly needed foreign investment depend on putting their best democratic foot forward.

Understanding, patience, encouragement and a sense of history will best help us in our approach to Africa.

After Four Centuries

Kilian McDonnell, O.S.B.

TO THE DYNAMICS of polemics belongs a certain structuring of thought. The heat of the argument, by a process akin to the baking of clay pots, hardens the main line of the argument. When this goes on over a period of years, the opponents build a logical system of defense and attack, a system which may become so closely ordered that each disputant imprisons himself.

The structuring of thought has inevitably taken place during the four centuries of Protestant-Catholic controversy. Some systematizing of arguments is not only inevitable but desirable. It becomes undesirable when an ultimate value is placed upon it, when it becomes so inflexible that it imprisons the builder.

What characterizes the ecumenical movement today is its willingness to value the structuring of thought for what it is worth and to get outside of it for a reappraisal. While not discarding the traditional lines of argument, the men in the movement are going back to the sources, writing some revisionist history, rebuilding the structure where it is weak, loosening it where it is inflexible.

There are several presuppositions to this reappraisal.

FR. McDONNELL, O.S.B., editor of *Sponsa Regis*, a monthly devoted to the spiritual interests of sisters, writes for a wide variety of reviews.

Both Protestants and Catholics have a way of hearing the other but not really listening. Each, consciously or unconsciously, takes for granted that the honorable opposition is talking religious nonsense. The Catholic is more likely to be guilty of this, since his theology is more closely formulated and he is bound by the precise papal and conciliar definitions as well as by the authority of Scripture. And he finds it more difficult to be generous even when the opposition is not contradicting the Catholic position. For him dogmatic intolerance—but not intolerance of persons—is more than scholarly intransigence; it is an article of faith. He is more likely to seem to his opponents a medieval bore than a gentleman of erudite magnanimity, since he cannot countenance the suggestion that all should imitate the generosity of the Methodist stand: “We lay no claim to exclusiveness in doctrines, rites, authority.” Because the Catholic Church does make this claim, the Catholic tends to hear but not to listen.

Protestantism, on its own admission, is a striving for religious truth which is never attained with certainty. But Catholicism is a striving in religious truth which is never completely exhausted. The Protestant may hear but not listen, because he is basically distrustful of the definitive dogmatic formulations of Rome. His distrust stems not so much from his conviction that these formulations are inadequate—he may be quite willing to admit

that they are as good as can be made, in view of the present level of theological knowledge—but from the fact that they are irreformable. As Paul Tillich pointed out in *The Protestant Era*, the Reformation was basically concerned with reforming the irreformable doctrinal pronouncements of the popes and councils.

ROOTS OF MISUNDERSTANDING

The ecumenical dialogue will not be able to reappraise the systematization of arguments until each side attempts to enter the intellectual and spiritual position of the other and see the dogmatic stand from within. What we say is frequently not understood because we speak from a scholastic background and in scholastic idiom. The Protestants understand much of what we say, but some of it they simply do not understand unless it is translated. We do not want to discard our scholastic idiom; but we do wish to be aware of the difficulties it involves for the Protestants.

We use the same words as the Protestants but we mean different things, and this in areas of vital doctrinal importance. Karl Barth has said that it might be possible to find some common affirmation to which both Protestants and Catholics could give adherence, but that this would be useless because we should differ at once about the first word, *Credo*, I believe. Both speak of faith, grace, Church, sacrament, justification, but mean different things.

We are divided even on the definition of the ecumenical movement. The Protestant seeks to create a unity out of the diversity of churches; for him, that is the purpose and definition of the ecumenical movement. The Catholics admit this as a definition, since the essential unity, which is one of the marks of the Church, was never lost. The Catholic speaks of the reunion of Christians, or of Christian bodies, rather than the reunion of churches. In the theological sense there are not many churches, but only one. In the Catholic definition the ecumenical movement is the return of separated brethren in a body to the one true Church, to Catholic unity. The Catholic has therefore ruled out all possibility of Protestant-Catholic merger, or a loose federation of Protestant-Catholic churches.

The definition of theological terms points up the necessity of specialized training. In *Humani Generis* Pius XII suggested that Catholic theologians study Protestant theology, "because diseases are not properly treated unless they are correctly diagnosed, . . . because false theories contain a certain amount of truth, . . . because the mind is thereby spurred on to examine and weigh certain philosophical and theological doctrines." For an effective reappraisal we need at least a few men in each camp who have made a systematic study of the others' theology. Then the Protestants will stop refuting what the Protestants say the Catholics said; and the Catholics likewise.

The little that Catholics know of Protestant theology is usually found in the theological manuals, and they usually give the 16th-century Reformation theology—in large part, Luther's theology. There is little point in quoting Luther's theology to a modern Lutheran theo-

logian. He feels no obligation to adhere to Luther's theology and will be surprised, and perhaps indignant, that you think he should be embarrassed by the discrepancy between Luther's theology and his own. He accepts Luther's Reformation principles, but not necessarily his doctrines.

There will never be a meeting of minds on a level of any greater depth than the school-bus question unless the Catholic participants in the dialogue understand both contemporary and 16th-century Protestant theology. Such a scientific study presupposes competence in the field of theology and it is not desirable that the untrained should devote themselves to the intricacies of Paul Tillich's *Systematic Theology*.

This look at each other's theology is not without its dangers. We know that the theology which emerges from the battlefield is not theology at its best. Some points are sharpened, lines are drawn, but the Church's rejection of the heretical part standing for the whole has a way of bringing the defenders of orthodoxy to neglect the truth which ran wild. Theology's more proper role is to be not a soldier, but a herald.

AUTHORITY VS. FREEDOM

It is well known that our catechetical tradition since Trent has at times been more anti-Lutheran or anti-Calvinist than Catholic. The impression gathered was that you were not a Catholic simply; you were always a Catholic against someone. You were either a protesting Protestant or a protesting Catholic.

As the lines of the battle were drawn, they were conceived in terms of Protestant freedom as opposed to Catholic authority—certainly a vast oversimplification of both Protestant and Catholic positions. If the Catholic position is conceived only in terms of authority, there is danger that the laity will be reduced to a reverent passivity. The layman's position in the Church, then, as seen by Edouard Le Roy, is similar to that of the lambs the Pope blesses on Candlemas: "They are blessed, then sheared."

If submission to authority were the sum total of Catholic doctrine, then both the minor clergy and the laity would be characterized by a woodenness, a waiting for authority to speak on every social, political, as well as religious topic, so that all might, with one accord, move in the approved direction. Catholics would then go about being careful, zealous, not for the true, but the safe.

The Catholic position is strongly authoritarian. For this we need not blush. God wills it. But the danger of mute servility is not chimerical, and Pius XII went out of his way to issue a warning. He told Catholic journalists that the man who loves the Church and respects her authority

will know how to guard himself against mute servility as well as against uncontrolled criticism. . . . The Church is a living body, and something would be lacking in her life if expression could not be given to public opinion within her ranks. For such a lack, both pastors and faithful might be to blame.

The oversimplification of the battle lines also had an

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effect on the presentation of the theology of the Church and on piety. Confronted with Luther's doctrine on grace alone and the rejection of the hierarchy, the Catholic was forced to defend the Church's juridic, hierarchical structure. In doing so, we sometimes forgot to give rightful place to the spiritual constitution of the Church, the Church as the Communion of Saints. Reacting against Luther's spiritualistic theology of faith and grace alone, Catholics have occasionally become so involved in sanctification by exterior works that they neglect what is most interior: return to the sources of grace, converse with Christ, a deeply personal commitment, contemplative reading of the sacred Scriptures.

Some Protestants are not at all happy about the deductions drawn from emphasis on Protestant freedom. Their theologians have attacked the unbridled liberalism which passes as Protestant freedom. This liberalism distinguishes the Protestant from the Catholic, in that the Protestant is responsible only to his own conscience, has no binding dogma, no compulsory creed, and is free of ecclesiastical cult. These theologians assert that such a man is not the Reformation's Christian, nor a Christian at all.

In the re-evaluation of the 400-year-old disagreement, both sides will be led to the acknowledgment of truths in the other's theological position; occasionally it will be a theological truth found in their own tradition which has been neglected in the necessities of battle. Richard Niebuhr has said that Roman Catholic theology, with its great stability, has at times maintained truths dear to Protestantism with greater effectiveness than Protestantism itself. The Catholic Church, more than the Protestant, has upheld justification by faith, the sovereignty of God, the authority of Scripture, when these were threatened by humanism or human authority.

The Lutheran theologian Ernst Kinder has said that the Lutherans are in need of contact with the Catholic ecumenical group *Una Sancta* and with the Catholic Church "for in her corporate as well as ecclesiastical development she has preserved better and guarded more faithfully the Christian substance of several important and decisive points."

DOGMA—AND CHARITY

The restructuring will mean for Protestants and Catholics a look at the theological basis of their attitudes. To be specific, some Catholics take it as a matter of rejoicing when Protestants and Orthodox weaken in their faith and become victims of religious indifference. As Fr. Yves Congar pointed out years ago, to want these things to happen, or to take pleasure in them, would mean that we view the deteriorations solely from the viewpoint of system rather than of life. What we seek is not the triumph of a system, not the victory of sectarian imperialism, not submission to a mere hierarchical institution, but the triumph of truth and life.

We do, indeed, believe Protestantism to be false, and we wish to see it come to an end. We are undeniably interested in seeing Protestants reunited to the Church either en masse or as individual converts. But it is quite untheological for us to wish directly that their faith,

no matter how impoverished, should be further weakened. Such a weakening is an evil in itself, and we are never allowed to will what is evil in itself. Since we believe that whatever is authentically Christian in Protestantism is Catholic truth and belongs by right to the Church, any loss in truth or supernatural life is, to that extent, a loss to the Church.

We can, however, rejoice when the Protestants throw off their negative principles, e.g., denial of the sacrifice of the Mass, of merit, of devotion to Mary and of authority of the Pope, in which are found the essential heresy of Protestantism.

The reassessment will make it evident that the problem we are dealing with is not merely theological; it is also cultural. Martin Marty, associate editor of the *Christian Century*, has said that we have not only distinct theologies; we also have separated histories. We are to a great degree the sum of our individual histories. A man can change his mind, but he cannot change his history. And only with great difficulty can he change

the culture which is the result of that history.

The Protestant who has been formed in the Protestant Calvinist tradition has a whole cultural background formed by the Calvinist insistence on man's personal vocation, on the inner witness of the Spirit, on the sovereignty of God which dominates his life and decides his eternity. The Calvinist has experienced salvation in a way that his other

Protestant and Catholic friends have not. They have their own way of experiencing salvation, but it is not the Calvinist way.

The Calvinist has also inherited a whole religious culture, a way of looking on himself, on life, death, love, the family, the state. This inherited religious culture is the product of four centuries of prayer, meditation, study, Scripture reading, of the triumphs and defeats of his forefathers. All of this, his personal religious experience and his inherited "experience," forms a cultural frame of reference which is not duplicated by other Protestant and Catholic frames of reference. And, warns Fr. George Tavard, they cannot be interchanged.

These cultural differences, as well as the doctrinal differences, must be considered in any ecumenical evaluation. In a sense, the cultural differences must be considered even more than the doctrinal differences, for it has been said that theologians start heresies, but they seldom solve them.

In the reappraisal we will find that our greatest bond with the Protestants and Orthodox is charity. *Ubi caritas, ibi Deus est*—"Where there is love, there God is."



State of the Question

WHY AND WHEREFORE OF HIGH HEALTH COSTS

Why does medical care cost more and how are the aged to pay for it? Dr. Charles D. Shields, chairman of the Department of Physical Medicine and Rehabilitation in the Georgetown University Medical Center, examines the Why. Fr. Donald R. Campion, S.J., then examines some controverted points in discussing the How.

TO THE EDITOR: A survey of opinions, conducted by the American Medical Association, showed that physicians have been criticized for a "do-nothing" approach to proposals for health improvements and a "cold, impersonal attitude" toward patients. Doctors are blamed for the "high cost of medical care" and saddled with responsibility for the actions of "a few unethical men."

The "cold attitude" is, we can readily admit, a personality problem that may have developed in many physicians as a result of the training they have been through. It is something that should be carefully investigated by medical educators. The "few unethical men" are ugly reminders that physicians, like other men, can fail miserably. The "do-nothing" approach will be proved a myth if doctors will combine their efforts and produce a constructive, workable plan to provide satisfactory medical care for all who seek it. The blame for "high costs," however, is not so simply analyzed.

In the public mind, as the survey shows, it is the physician who is to blame for the high cost of medical care. Has the blame been put where it really belongs?

At the beginning of this century people were usually well advanced in their illness before they called in the doctor. Today medical services are rendered to the healthy as well as to the sick. Preventive medicine is a part of everyday practice, and extensive diagnostic evaluations are made to determine the status of a person's health. It is often a third party that requests such evaluations, for a variety of reasons.

Fifty years ago the patient was cared for at home. Today hospitalization is demanded for every purpose, because it is a convenience for both the patient and the doctor. This results in the estimate that one out of every ten Ameri-

cans will be hospitalized during 1960.

In the early years of the century the training of the physician was limited, but his opinions and decisions were highly respected. Now specialization within the health professions is the order of the day. The doctor used to be assisted by members of the patient's family, when necessary, or by a trained or practical nurse in special situations. Now new co-professional groups with high standards of training have become established within medicine; rehabilitation services are frequently demanded by the patient before his physician is familiar with the virtues of this rapidly expanding field; highly trained personnel, expensive equipment, complicated apparatus, increased space and more money are needed in increasing amounts each year in order to make modern medical practice possible.

To the doctor these are all obvious reasons for heavy expenditures. When he contemplates the frequent complaints about rising medical costs, he can only reflect that mankind still has a high resistance to parting with money.

Attempted Solution

It is true that during the past ten years the costs of medical care have risen almost twice as much as the cost of living measured by the official Consumer Price Index. Hospital charges and professional fees have shared in this increase. It must be remembered, however, that hospitals have to compete for trained and talented workers in the co-professional and skilled labor groups; the hospitals simply must pay higher wages. Besides, the number of new services provided by hospitals and clinics makes it unfair to compare costs of today with those of ten years ago.

Efforts to obtain medical care with as little economic pain as possible have resulted in the growth of various types

of prepayment insurance plans. These vary in scope, but few, if any, pay for all of the medical bills. The usual hospital coverage contains extensive limitations; these are necessary because of the low premium payments.

Blue Shield medical plans, designed to assist payment of the doctor's bill, were developed by organized medicine as an answer to the threat of government activity in the area of medical care. There is frequent disagreement among physicians, however, about whom these activities should serve and about their method of operation. And certain organizations that purchase medical care have vigorously criticized the quality of medical services rendered under the Blue Shield plans.

Labor groups are usually opposed to free choice of physician as well as to the custom of charging patients according to their ability to pay. The medical profession insists that the right of an individual to choose his doctor is fundamental in our democracy. Labor argues that personal choice in this case produces incompetence and waste. Dr. Warren F. Draper, executive medical officer of the United Mine Workers' Welfare and Retirement Fund, says:

We will never return to free choice of physicians; we have found that as long as the fund would pay any physician for any service which he saw fit to render, surgical diagnoses were often poor and the amount of surgery on beneficiaries was far in excess of that performed on others.

Labor is no longer satisfied to obtain health and welfare contributions from employers and purchase medical care on the open market. Comprehensive medical-care plans for workers and their dependents, provided by their own medical groups, have a priority label in many labor organizations. The United Steelworkers of America have announced that they are "studying the feasibility of establishing their own hospitals, clinics, diagnostic centers, rest homes, rehabilitation centers, nursing homes and the development of fully prepaid medical care plans utilizing group practice medicine." The physician wonders if aggressive labor unions that push employers into responsibilities for medical care will assume direction over his destinies.

Some doctors honestly believe that the complex administrative and eco-

economic problems are more than the talents of the medical profession can handle. Economists have accumulated facts and developed plans to provide dynamic and efficient medical services, but administrative talent within organized medicine is so busily engaged in evaluating these plans that it seems to have time for little else than to defend the status quo. Recent proposals have all been rejected by the medical profession on the grounds that they do not serve the best interests of those who are sick. These rejections are honest efforts to protect the health of the public, but they frequently earn the profession the title of "obstructionist," or worse. It is time for all sides to have a good look at the facts and to make concessions where they can be made in truth and honesty.

Objections of the Doctors

An ever increasing number of agents or third parties, who purchase services for their members or clients, want prepayment plans that provide full and complete services without any additional payment, and they want to control the quality of this care. It is unlikely that the medical profession will object to any system that produces medical care of high quality, but the profession will object to becoming a pawn or losing its identity in a system of practice that, by its very nature, will destroy the quality it strives to create. At present, prepayment insurance methods with their low premiums exclude essential services, such as rehabilitation and care of long-term illness. Many people do not seem to understand that medical care is expensive, and that present insurance premiums fall far short of covering complete care.

What about prepaid insurance with increased premiums and rigid fee schedules which cannot be altered by doctor or hospital? Is this the answer? Probably not. There will always be the poor and the unemployed who cannot afford premiums. There are always those who for some reason fail to protect themselves.

We must realize, moreover, that those who can afford to pay their doctor and hospital also pay, in large measure, for others who are in a less fortunate position financially. This is a form of worthy charity, even though it is forced upon us. Medical care is a necessity; it must

be provided in good quality and with true charity for those who cannot afford to purchase it.

It is imperative that organized medicine establish a task force to formulate a dynamic program—within a framework of responsibility and proper safeguards—to insure complete medical services for all. This will not be an easy task. It will demand the best efforts in every field of endeavor. The results must satisfy those who render medical services and must serve the interests of the sick.

Good medical care is expensive whether it is offered by government, labor, private insurance groups or organized medicine. It can never be free. We must be careful not to delude ourselves into thinking that a system of medical service can produce something for nothing. Some such false hope may have developed in the minds of 20 million Americans during their military careers, when they received the best medical care ever rendered on a mass scale. The truth is that every dollar utilized to operate any system of medical practice in this country will come from the pocket of some American. At present, the U. S. Department of Commerce recently reported, Americans spend more than \$14 billion a year for health services. About 25 per cent of this is paid to doctors; the remainder is spent for drugs, appliances, hospitalization, health insurance and government health programs.

Popular blame for high costs will be put where it belongs by continuous and intelligent explanation on the part of the medical profession that there is more to medical care than the hospital bed and the man whose advice has moved the patient into the hospital community.

CHARLES D. SHIELDS, M.D.

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TO THE EDITOR: Dr. Shields has put us all in his debt by clearing away much of the current confusion about mounting costs of medical care. In the process he performed an equally valuable service by exemplifying the responsible attitude many members of his profession adopt toward the task of insuring complete medical services for all. He himself notes the charge of obstructionism so often hurled against organized medicine. Clearly this charge does not apply to Dr. Shields.

In the spirit of his invitation to "look at the facts," I wish to add a few comments about a fierce controversy over the best means of seeing that our senior citizens receive the care they need.

Proposed Legislation

Over the past several years, legislative proposals for public health insurance of the aged have been the subject of violent debate in and out of Congress. It seems certain, as I write these lines, that one or other of these proposals will be brought to a vote in the present session of the 86th Congress. The best known of them is the bill introduced by Rep. Aime J. Forand and designated as H.R. 4700. Senators John F. Kennedy and Hubert H. Humphrey, among others, have authored similar bills in the Senate. Finally, the Administration, through Health, Education and Welfare Secretary Arthur S. Flemming, has announced plans to send a bill on health care of the aged to Congress after further study of the matter.

Outside of Congress, sharp lines of division have already been drawn between opponents and supporters of these measures. In its March 7 issue, the American Medical Association's *AMA News* editorializes that "free-enterprise American medicine . . . faces one of the most serious challenges in its history." It accuses the AFL-CIO and other forces of seeking "to foist off on the American people a scheme of compulsory health insurance that would carry this country into the abyss of socialism."

Writing for the opposite side, John Beidler in the Feb. 6 *AFL-CIO News* insisted:

None of those who oppose enactment of the Forand bill have come to grips with the unanswerable reality that is the core of the problem: the lack of medical protection for the aged is undermining our national goal of dignified, independent, earned retirement.

I shall make no attempt to pass judgment on the validity of the views registered in these quotations. Instead, I propose to outline some of the points under dispute in this controversy and the arguments offered to support or rebut them.

One such point under dispute concerns the ability of older persons to meet medical expenses. Dr. Franz Goldman, writing in the February, 1959 is-

sue of the *American Journal of Public Health*, concluded from a survey of information on the subject that

... the financial resources available to all but a small proportion of the senior citizens are grossly inadequate to meet any but minor expenses in case of illness.

The *AMA News* for March 7, however, cites a recent editorial in the *Journal of the American Medical Association* to the effect that statistics on the economic situation of the aged are often used in a misleading fashion. Thus, the editorial comments, the figures on income per person fail to "take into account family and nonmonetary income, total assets, other resources and the reduced financial obligations of the aged person."

Critics and advocates of the Forand bill also conflict over the extent to which voluntary health insurance plans are meeting the health-care problems of the aged. The AMA, for example, underscores a report of the Health Insurance Institute that by the end of 1960, 65 per cent of those over 65 years of age who need and want health insurance coverage will have this protection. The Health Insurance Institute further estimates that 90 per cent will be covered by 1970.

But not everyone entertains the same hopes for future coverage under voluntary plans. Dissenters note, not without some justification, that these forecasts commonly rest on the assumption that the large body of older people now receiving old-age assistance has no interest in private health insurance and can be passed over in estimates of those who "need and want" such protection.

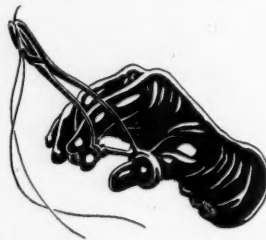
Priced Out of the Market

A further point to be noted is one made in the report submitted on April 3, 1959 by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare to the House Ways and Means Committee. It stated that even for those who reach 65 with insurance coverage, "limitations on total lifetime benefits and cancellation of policies after periods of illness as well as reduced ability to pay premiums" tend to cut down on the extent of coverage among the aged.

A more troubling question concerns the ability of the voluntary plans to continue protection of the aged without being priced out of the market, at least for most income brackets. Advo-

cates of public insurance of the aged within the social security system see this danger as a threat to all major forms of voluntary insurance, including commercial plans based on individual or group membership and nonprofit programs such as Blue Cross and Blue Shield.

These plans, of course, because they can, or in some cases must by law rely upon current payments in return for coverage, are beyond the reach of many



old people even of moderate means. An attractive solution to the problem would be to hike rates for the pre-65 period in order to continue benefits with little or no charge at a time when the income and resources of senior citizens have declined. The high rates for younger beneficiaries, however, would surely put any health insurance plan beyond the reach of the average potential purchaser.

Commercial insurance, where it is purchased on an individual basis, tends to be more costly because of the added expense involved in handling individual policies. Aside from that fact, the aged face the hard reality that commercial rates respond directly to the increased risk to which they are liable. Many, moreover, find themselves simply denied policies on the basis of medical examinations. And as for group insurance, though it can be especially attractive because economies in administration allow for lower rates, it is presently available to but a few of those who pass the age of retirement.

For most Americans, of course, mention of health insurance calls to mind Blue Cross and Blue Shield, the best known of the nonprofit varieties. Many find in them the best method of protection against the unexpected medical expenses which can mean financial catastrophe for the average family. They are indeed a landmark in the medical history of the nation.

Despite their nonprofit status and presumably low costs, however, Blue Cross

and Blue Shield face a severe challenge from commercial plans. The latter, as noted above, set rates for various age groups on the basis of experience. As a result, they are sometimes in a position to underbid nonprofit plans on coverage of people in the low-risk, younger groups. Their rates for high-risk, older persons, on the other hand, are so high as to drive them to enroll under Blue Cross in instances where it maintains a general rate. Inevitably, of course, such a process results in the necessity of raising Blue Cross and Blue Shield rates as their memberships include ever larger proportions of high-risk cases.

Some such trend may in fact help to explain the rash of appeals, in State after State, for boosts in Blue Cross rates. A recent study revealed that in the year 1958 alone, 29 of the 78 Blue Cross plans in the country increased their premiums.

A further problem is that some of the plans furnish very limited protection. It is true that 37 Blue Shield plans in 34 States presently offer coverage for the over-65 groups, and 16 plans in eleven other States have such plans under development. Yet in 1958 only eleven of the entire 78 Blue Cross programs had no age limit for nongroup enrollment.

Rates Keep Rising

In frank recognition of the threat that constantly rising rates pose to the continued existence of private insurance plans, the AMA has urged doctors to reduce their charges to aged patients or to accept Blue Shield payments as full payment in such cases. This proposal manifests the association's awareness of the facts in the insurance situation and demonstrates its concern to foster the growth of programs free from governmental control.

Yet even such an enlightened suggestion does not meet the whole problem. As Dr. Shields noted, hospital care and other treatments account for a greater share of medical expenses than do doctors' services. This is quite often especially true in the case of the aged. Moreover, as a doctor writing in *Medical Economics* (April 27, 1959) points out, many doctors hesitate to charge fees below cost because they fear that these may be cited as precedents in setting welfare payments or Federal fee schedules.

The AMA has also campaigned among county medical societies for assurance of at least a physician's services to those in need. In line with this it urges local units to advertise in community newspapers a pledge "guaranteeing the services of a physician to all who need him, regardless of the ability to pay." It was, no doubt, in the spirit of such recommendations that Dr. Louis M. Orr, the AMA president, stated on March 7 that "if there are isolated cases of persons with legitimate need for a doctor's services who are not receiving those services, they have not explored the facilities available to them."

Such assurances, however, do not satisfy supporters of the Forand bill and similar proposals. In testimony before the House Ways and Means Committee last July, Nelson Cruikshank, director of the AFL-CIO department of social security, stated the basic reason for their dissatisfaction:

Leaders of the AMA talk glibly of the opportunities for free care open to the "medically indigent." But people should not be forced by high medical bills to use up their savings and thus become "medically indigent." Nor should

they be forced to undergo the means tests which may be applied by public clinics or hospitals where care is theoretically available to them.

Yet another move by the AMA, one that has been hailed as a step toward extending better and less expensive care, came in the form of a policy switch last June. Up to that time the association had strongly opposed programs under which medical care is dispensed by a group of physicians and paid for on the insurance principle. (New York's Health Insurance Plan is an example of such a program.) A key objection on which this opposition rested was the alleged limitation such plans placed on the "free choice of physician." But the AMA's House of Delegates, at a June meeting in Atlantic City, finally voiced approval of the view that "each individual should be accorded the privilege to select . . . his physician . . . or . . . his preferred system of medical care." It also agreed that "there is no generally held opinion that participation in closed-panel medical care would render a physician unethical."

In light of this shift in the official

AMA position, some observers now ask whether the profession will not eventually drop its opposition to public insurance on the ground that such a system violates the "free choice" principle. Indeed, they see a set of historical precedents for such a step. As Dr. Norton S. Brown, then president of the New York County Medical Society, remarked in his 1958 inaugural address, most of the developments in the field of health insurance "have been forced upon organized medicine by the eager response of the public."

Many of the issues here touched upon will stir debate in Congress and around the country this spring. As one moves among friends and foes of a Federal health insurance program for the aged, the depth of feeling on either side may cause an observer to wonder whether such widely divergent views can ever be reconciled. Whatever the nature of these differences, however, the nation stands to gain if the debate can be carried on in the spirit of Dr. Shields' wise observation that "it is time . . . to have a good look at the facts and to make concessions where they can be made in truth and honesty."

DONALD R. CAMPION

BOOKS

A Lamp Is Lifted for a Senator

THE STRATEGY OF PEACE

By Sen. John F. Kennedy. Ed. by Allan Nevins. Harper. 227p. \$3.50

Foreign policy may or may not become an issue in the Presidential campaign of 1960. The political wisacres in Washington are inclined to forecast that it will not. The Republicans will stand for peace; the Democrats will find it difficult to challenge peace. But Presidential candidate John Kennedy is not one who fears to step in where other politicians fear to tread. He has authorized the publication of excerpts from his speeches and public statements under the fetching title *The Strategy of Peace*, with foreword and annotations by Prof. Allan Nevins of Columbia University.

This compendium is a reminder to those who have to pick a President that

Senator Kennedy has served on the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate, that he has been chairman of the subcommittees on UN and on African affairs. The book conveys discretely the impression that he has traveled much in foreign parts. It underscores that he has pondered deeply and spoken voluminously on foreign politics and economics. The reader is supposed to assume that what the Senator said in the past represents his thinking today on the great issues of our time, and that Mr. Kennedy is as competent as any Republican who will oppose him, if he is nominated to be the Democratic standard-bearer, or as capable in the field of foreign affairs as any Democratic hopeful.

Prof. Nevins, giving a hint of Democratic strategy, gracefully places the mantle of Woodrow Wilson and Frank-

lin D. Roosevelt on John F. Kennedy as the sort of President, if he is nominated and elected, who will stand for *something* (italics his). Thereafter Prof. Nevins "lifts his lamp" for the Senator who has the "enthusiasm of comparative youth and the idealism of dedicated purpose," and he assures us that Mr. Kennedy will diffuse a "new national mood" and shake us out of Republican-endered complacency.

What does Prof. Nevins' "lamp" show us as he takes Senator Kennedy's speeches, one by one? The professor tells us in advance that the speeches will reveal the candidate as imbued with "dynamic liberalism" in foreign affairs, as a Federal-action man, as an exponent of "thrust" in the solution of the problems of peace, defense and foreign policy. The Senator hates isolationism, detests McCarthyism, espouses "courage, resourcefulness, originality and flexibility."

Coming down to brass tacks, then, we follow Mr. Kennedy's speeches in the Senate, at banquets, to chambers

of commerce, colleges and forums appropriately dotted across the United States. Much of the ground covered is on well-trodden, familiar paths. Mr. Kennedy wishes to keep the nation strong militarily and economically. We must help Poland and Hungary by expanding travel and student exchange and by lending technological aid. We must discard old prejudices in broadening the area of common purpose and action with Russia. We must give more foreign aid. We must explore the possibilities of lightening the burden of arms and of controlling nuclear testing. We must love the Latin Americans, aid the Middle Easterners, do miracles somehow in India.

We must, as Senator Kennedy underscores in his introductory remarks, "develop a strategy for peace," which he then interprets as "marching at the head of this world revolution [of the underprivileged], counseling it, helping it to come to a healthy fruition." As a corollary to our neglect of the "world-wide revolution" (a phrase used several times by the Senator), he opposes "colonial-

ism" and is particularly hard on the French over Algeria. The Senator snorts at Nato as an instrument for maintaining the status quo and seeks to make it "a creative partnership among equals." Above all, he advocates negotiation with the Soviet Union "at the summit or anywhere else." This is the high point of the Kennedy doctrine for foreign affairs. To quote the Senator:

We should be ready to take risks to bring about a thaw in the Cold War. While blocking the routes to Communist expansion, we must—at American initiative—exploit every opportunity that the dynamic of change in Soviet life may offer, to move toward peace.

There you have it. Senator Kennedy is for PEACE. There is no hint, as we thread through his speeches, about how he proposes to achieve it, in terms of practical foreign politics, in any way that differs from his predecessors—unless it be in that misty thing called "mood." And there is one thing more: Americans have to be prepared to pay a price for peace. ROBERT PELL

Education may be described as the process whereby the older people in a society pass on their total way of life to their children. When this process absorbs years of the students' lives and employs millions of persons and astronomical sums it becomes more important than ever to evaluate reflectively the culture that is being transmitted and to determine as reasonably as possible the goals and the content of the school experience.

#10
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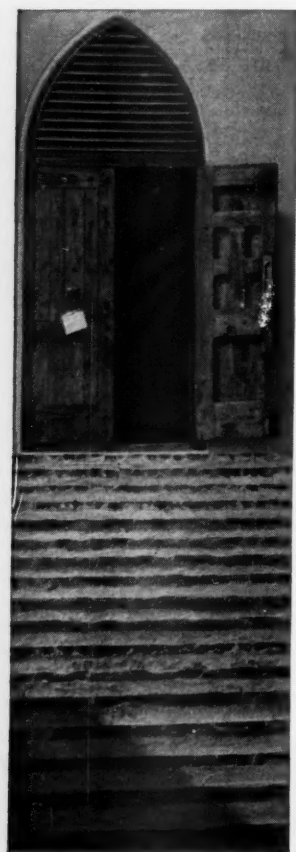
THE ROLE OF TECHNICAL CULTURE
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John W. Donohue, S.J.

xi + 238 pages, \$4.00

Loyola University Press

3445 North Ashland Avenue
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Modern British Culture

I AM MY BROTHER

By John Lehmann. Reynal. 326p. \$5

Each age, I thought as I put down this fascinating autobiography, has its Erasmus, its Walpole, its Lehmann, who seems to know everyone and corresponds with everyone and puts each friend into touch with another—who functions (among other things) as an international clearinghouse. For the Renaissance the clearinghouse had to be a humanist with theological strengths, a first-rate classicist; for the 18th century, a man of letters qualified to travel, to build a library and to live a life among the aristocracy. In our times it has to be an editor and writer with immensely strong interests in politics, for the meaning of the 1930's especially, is written in political terms.

The title of this book derives from a Cain-Abel poem by the Greek poet Capetanakis:

The ageless ambiguity of things
Which makes our life mean death,
our love be hate.
My blood that streams across the
bedroom sings:
"I am my brother opening the
gate."

The poem is splendidly symbolic of Lehmann's career. Both as individual and as editor of the wartime *Penguin New Writing*, and latterly of the *London Magazine*, he has indeed opened the gate for and to fellow writers.

Here is not merely literary gossip by one who was intimately associated with the last two literary generations—the older of T. S. Eliot, the Woolfs, Desmond McCarthy and E. M. Forster; and the younger of Auden and company, Orwell, Koestler, the still younger Dylan Thomas, Roy Fuller and newer names. That kind of discussion is fascinating to us and will be immensely important to the literary historian of our era. This will certainly be, as Christopher Isherwood comments, "one of the historical source books of the time." But *I Am My Brother* is also a penetrating commentary on the changing role and place of the writer in British culture, and through the pages of this book the sense of the continuity of letters emerges clearly and strongly.

For once we have a book which splendidly lives up to the front-jacket blurb; it is "an extraordinarily vivid picture of literary life in London during the war years." It earns a place on the shelves of fine autobiographies by writers. On my shelves there is a notable movement from the earlier Ed-

THE book for Lent and Easter

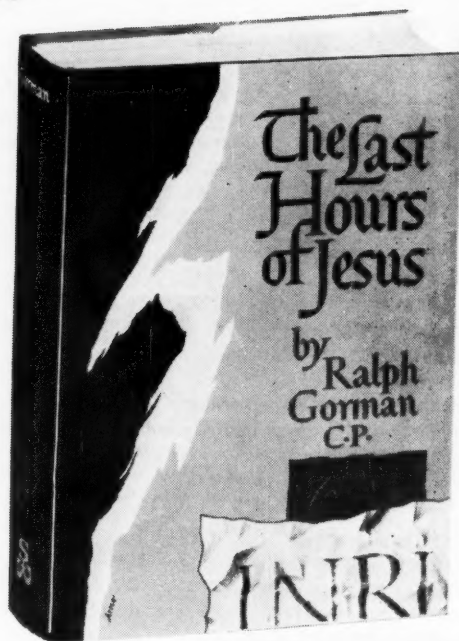
The Last Hours of Jesus

by Ralph Gorman, C.P.

Rarely has a book been greeted with more immediate enthusiasm by both critics and public than Father Gorman's story of the Passion. The reasons are not hard to find. Father Gorman spent three years in the Holy Land, studying its history; seven more as Professor of Sacred Scripture. As editor of *The Sign*, he knows the needs of Catholics who would like a better understanding of the Gospel accounts. His book uniquely places the fruits of scholarship at the service of ordinary readers.

In *America*, ALPHONSE F. TREZZA, executive secretary of the Catholic Library Association, has recommended *The Last Hours of Jesus* for Lenten reading and described it as "a detailed, accurate and interestingly written account of the Passion for the general reader."

JIM BISHOP, author of *The Day Christ Died*: "A rare book. It does something which is difficult to achieve: a combination of the scholarly approach with the simple sentence. It not only details each act of the last days, each utterance of Our Lord, but explains why. . . . The exposition of Judas as a character in this high drama is alone



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worth the price of the book. . . . This is a masterful explanation of what happened and why it had to be the way it was. . . . This book is food for all Christians of all sects and ages."

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New York Times Book Review: "Intensive and detailed discussion of the Crucifixion and Resurrection. . . . The author's knowledge of history and archaeology are evident but unobtrusive."

THE LAST HOURS OF JESUS is an ideal book to head your own list of Lenten reading. It is, moreover, a book that you will turn to again and again in the Lenten seasons of the future.

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wardian fox-hunting volumes of Siegfried Sassoon to the courtly prose of Osbert Sitwell to the volumes by Lehmann (*The Whispering Gallery* and this) with their urgent sense of the responsibility of the artist and the persistent search for truth in personal terms, which characterizes so much British writing of the past two decades. At the same time, this is a highly perceptive analysis and history of the writer in the modern world; it ranks with the works of Cyril Connolly, Herbert Read and a very few others.

R. J. SCHOECK

Endurance of the Irish

TO THE GOLDEN DOOR: The Story of the Irish in Ireland and America

By George Potter. Little, Brown. 631p. \$6.50

George Potter, a Pulitzer prize winner for editorial writing, was long associated with the *Providence Tribune* and the *Providence Journal-Bulletin*. He did not live to see his long labor of love in print. He must have known, however, that his ten years of arduous research were to win for him a permanent place as an informal social historian. For, in this book, a certainty about facts and feelings argues that Mr. Potter must have known that he had found the story destiny prepared him to tell.

An immensely ambitious undertaking, this history of the Irish people from its origins to the outbreak of the American Civil War, avoids the chief perils of the extended narrative. It is warmly human, richly detailed, even anecdotal, yet, for all these intimate and even homely touches, Mr. Potter's book lacks neither the epic theme nor the epic tone. His theme is how great a task it was for the Irish race to endure the exterminating fury of persecution and the almost equally harsh malice of neglect. He retells that story with the candor of the expert modern journalist, often by choosing famous episodes in the careers of leaders like Hugh O'Neill, Wolfe Tone, Daniel O'Connell, Robert Emmet and Archbishop Hughes, but just as often by revealing the heroism of the all but nameless thousands who survived in Ireland and flourished in America.

For the most part, the book is informal history. It describes, in the language of its chief headings, where the Irish came from, how they got across the ocean and what befell them in America. At times, without lapsing into sentimentalism, Mr. Potter's history touches the heart with an almost un-

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bearable pathos. Even the professional anti-Irishmen will understand better the Irish "temper" after reading chapters like "The Poor Supported the Poor," "The Faith of Patrick" and "The Hunger Is Upon Us."

Mr. Potter's narrative breaks off suddenly, as if he had infinitely more to say. Someone else must evaluate what he has presented and carry on the chronicle through the prosperous years that follow. Doubtlessly, better books will be written, but none more touching than this story of the Irish who found America truly to be their golden door.

FRANCIS X. CONNOLLY

Of Sin and Reparation

MARTHA, MARTHA

By Patricia McGerr. Kenedy. 276p. \$3.95

This delightful biblical novel opens in the synagogue at Bethany where Lazarus in the presence of his father and sister is celebrating his 13th birthday and becoming a Bar Mitzvah, a son of the Law. As Martha, four years his senior, watches the rite of his initiation into Jewish manhood, she reflects on her responsibility for the household she has managed since the death of their mother six years before.

Martha's constant worries about her brother's delicate health and the frivolity of her beautiful sister, Mary, are augmented now as she daily looks forward to her formal betrothal to Pappus, a young scribe from Magdala. Her own pride, jealousy and pharisaical rigor wreck her plans, and it is Mary who marries Pappus.

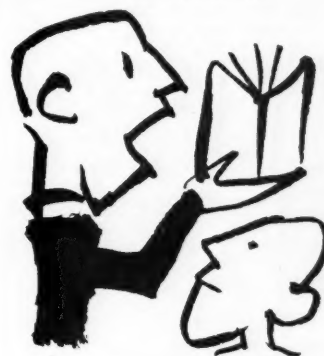
The main events of our Lord's public ministry are woven into the account of the spiritual struggles of the two sisters. Under the influence of the Master, Mary has to walk the rugged road of repentance, while Martha has to fight against her own jealousy and self-righteousness. Martha finds special difficulty in accepting some of our Lord's teachings, such as His words about the joy in heaven over one repentant sinner.

A refreshing estimate of the religious ferment stirred by Jesus is conveyed mainly through reports of His activities brought to Martha by His disciples, among whom Judas is prominent with his high hopes of temporal glory and his gradual disappointment.

It takes the terrible hours of the passion and the sight of Jesus and His heroic mother to bring Martha to a true understanding of sin and reparation. The story ends with dramatic swiftness on Easter morning.

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THE POLITICAL REASON OF EDMUND BURKE

By Francis P. Canavan, S.J. Duke U. 227p.
\$5

After taking a doctorate in political science at Duke University, Fr. Canavan went to England on a Rockefeller Foundation fellowship in order to pursue his research on Edmund Burke. The publication of this volume was made possible by funds provided by the Lilly Endowment Research Program in Christianity and Politics. The book is essentially a full-length study of the way in which Burke's mind worked when dealing with political problems.

Although some have maintained that Burke's political philosophy was radically antirational, Fr. Canavan's thesis clearly demonstrates that Burke took his premises from the intellectual metaphysics of the classical and medieval tradition. There is, according to Fr. Canavan, a marked similarity between Aristotle's and Aquinas's theory of practical reason and that of Burke.

The author points out that the central idea in Burke's thought was that of order. The social and political order was, of course, Burke's primary concern since he was a statesman. Nevertheless, Burke was very conscious of the fact that the order of the universe lay behind all other orders. Indeed, without this supposition of a universal order, Burke's theory of practical reason cannot be justified.

Burke's conception of the relationship between the universal divine order and the rules of human conduct appears most lucidly in his statements about the natural moral law. This concept of natural law furnishes the premises of his most profound arguments, as is strikingly evident from his criticisms of British rule in India and Ireland and of the French revolutionary principles.

This brief review cannot indicate adequately the value of Fr. Canavan's book. It is an indispensable aid to those who desire a knowledge of Burke's doctrine of political reason.

LEONARD MAHONEY

EDMUND BURKE AND IRELAND

By Thomas H. D. Mahoney. Harvard U. 413p. \$7.50

A small library of books has been written on Edmund Burke. It might seem that his life, thought and influence have already been adequately treated by scholars. Yet there are large gaps in the Burke library.

Burke's almost thirty years as a member of the British Parliament were

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occupied with domestic English affairs, of course, but also and more importantly with the American and French Revolutions and with Britain's imperial concerns in India and Ireland. It is a task of no slight difficulty to dig out of general histories, monographs, biographies and various primary sources a coherent account of the evolution of Burke's attitudes and policies on any one of these great topics. Books on Burke and America, Burke and France, Burke and India remain to be written. This work on Burke and Ireland shows that Prof. Mahoney is eminently well qualified to write those other three books.

Burke here emerges as an enlightened British imperialist who favored neither Irish independence nor a complete union with Great Britain. Rather, he was in effect a Home Ruler before his time. His policy, joined as it was with Catholic emancipation and the breaking of the power of the Protestant Ascendancy, "would unquestionably have worked," in Prof. Mahoney's opinion, had it been adopted.

Not that Burke was entirely consistent in the policy he advocated for Anglo-Irish relations. In 1785, for instance, he reversed his own earlier stand and opposed Pitt's proposals for Irish free trade, an about-face which was "as shocking as it was inexcusable." But his stand on the Irish Catholics is "a jewel of consistency."

Though Burke was not a Catholic himself, he had many Catholic relatives and he had a profound sympathy for the adherents of the old faith, who in his native Ireland were, of course, the vast majority of the inhabitants. The history of his efforts on their behalf is recounted here in detail. Based on extensive and, in large part, original research, this history is a notable contribution to our understanding both of the Irish past and of a great British statesman.

FRANCIS P. CANAVAN

ORDEAL OF THE PRESIDENCY

By David Cushman Coyle. Public Affairs. 408p. \$6

"One aspect of the hardships of the American Presidency" as evidenced in the lives of "ten of our most maligned Presidents," affords civil engineer and political economist D. C. Coyle copious material for his timely volume. Here Presidents, great, near-great and average, parade curiously behind Dame Criticism and Lady Defamation.

Leading off is Washington, "King George of Mt. Vernon," whom Tom Paine dubbed "treacherous . . . hypo-

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C-29

LAS	Arts and Sciences	M	Medicine
AE	Adult Education	Mu	Music
A	Architecture	N	Nursing
C	Commerce	P	Pharmacy
D	Dentistry	PT	Physical Therapy
DH	Dental Hygiene	RT	Radio-TV
Ed	Education	S	Social Work
E	Engineering	Sc	Science
FS	Foreign Service	SF	Sister Formation
G	Graduate School	Sy	Seismology
HS	Home Study	Sp	Speech
ILL	Institute of Language and Linguistics	T	Theatre
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J	Journalism	NROTC	Navy
L	Law	AFROTC	Air Force
MT	Medical Technology		

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sanship in domestic political
affairs.

R. J. SCHOECK is editing St.
Thomas More's *Debellation* for
the Yale edition of the 16th-
century humanist's works.

FRANCIS X. CONNOLLY is profes-
sor of English literature at
Fordham University.

crite . . . apostate . . . imposter." And
bringing up the rear is F. D. R., "to-
ward whom no one group held a mo-
nopoly of malice." Between them and
in step walk, to cite Coyle's captions,
"Perfidious Patriot" John Adams, "Con-
temptible Egghead" Thomas Jefferson,
"Defamed Puritan" John Quincy
Adams, "King Andrew the First" Jack-
son, "Baboon in the White House"
Abraham Lincoln, "Wild Cowboy"
Theodore Roosevelt and "Crucified
Peacemaker" Woodrow Wilson. A spe-
cial spotlight is focused on that "Target
of Calumny" Andrew Johnson, who in
the eyes of his enemies was "the worst
tyrant and usurper that history was ever
called on to record."

While admitting it is "natural that
fierce passions should be aroused" for
and against our Chief Executives, the
author lauds the right in a free country
to curse the Head of State. He strives
to record and understand what active
Presidents have endured. The purpose
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criticism that was meted out to candi-
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dency, today's political quarterbacks
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present mud-slinging tactics. In the
days before our next national election,
almost inevitably the tar of treachery
will be applied to some supposedly con-
temporary Brutus or Benedict Arnold,
while others strive to strip masks of
hypocrisy from alleged modern Caesars
and Cromwells.

HARRY J. SIEVERS

CHARLEY IS MY DARLING

By Joyce Cary. Harper. 343p. \$3.95

Published originally in England in 1940,
this is the story of Charley Brown, an
evacuee, one of the London slum chil-
dren sent to the West Country in 1939.
Though the disorganization of war and
the sudden thrust into unfamiliar sur-
roundings have their effect on Charley,
Cary's concern with his young delin-
quent goes deeper than a recounting of
any single set of circumstances.

The story is funny and sad and very
wise. Charley is an intelligent, under-
sized boy of 15 who gets off to a bad
start among the evacuees because he is
found to be lousy and has to have his
head shaved and his clothes burned.
Dressed in hand-me-downs, with an old
hat resting on his prominent ears, he
has to invent some way of gaining re-
spect—and Charley is an artist at in-
venting. In the fast jockeying for lead-
ership, Charley is the victim of neces-
sity plus his imagination; he careens
into delinquency with a kind of crazy
glory.

While all this is going on, he is
anxious to please Miss Lina Allchin, the
serious young volunteer who is help-
ing with the children. She takes special
interest in this bright boy who is in-
terested in art, capable of speaking good
English in addition to his Cockney (and
that makes Charley a bilingual inter-
preter), and quick to learn some of the
amenities from someone who likes him.
He has known little affection from his
father or from his easy-going 27-year-
old stepmother; at 15 he is an expert
in loneliness, and a gang is a necessity,
not a leisure-time diversion.

He forms a half-grudging friendship
with Bessie Galor, a West Country girl,
sturdy, deaf and slow—not at all like
the girls he has pestered in a street-
urchin way. Lizzie, as he calls her, has
an instinctive wish to shelter Charley.
As his prestige building takes him from
car stealing to purse snatching, vandal-
ism and the courts, the two children
draw closer together, even into a pre-
cocious and pathetic love affair. When
punishment and separation are hanging
over them, Lizzie can say: "It's bin so
lovely, I wish I could die."

Charley Brown seems like Gulley
Jimson as a boy and Lizzie like a young
Sara Monday. Even the antic gaiety of
the spree in *The Horse's Mouth* is fore-
shadowed when Charley and his cronies
break into Burls Hall and stage a party
that begins with clowning and ends in
meaningless destruction.

In the prefatory essay which Joyce
Cary wrote for the Carfax edition, he

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tells that a Board member once asked him how he came to know so much about youthful delinquents. He answers that any special knowledge must have come from a memory of his own youth.

And it has always seemed to me that every ordinary child is by nature a delinquent, that the only difference between us as children was the extent of our delinquency, whether we were found out in it and how we were punished for it.

This is a splendid story about children and the mysterious combination of good and bad in them. Cary knew children and grown people alike because, increasingly through the years, he came to know himself with a dazzling objective honesty.

MARY STACK MCNIFF

THEATRE

ONE MORE RIVER, by Beverly Cross, is a drama of mutiny on a tramp steamer off the coast of West Africa. Presented at the Ambassador by Mary K. Frank, the action was skillfully directed by Windsor Lewis, and the setting, by George Jenkins, provides a convincingly grimy atmosphere for the resentful mood of overworked deck hands. As happens all too often, the production specialists accomplished their tasks better than the author.

While the author presents a plausible case for the mutineers, they turn out to be human rodents, and the only honorable character is victimized by their treachery. The play seems to suggest that honor and decency are perilous risks—a cynical view of life that was hardly the author's intention.

The author's intention is not clear, but the play is brilliantly performed. Alfred Ryder deserves a ribbon for his portrayal of the hard-driving bridge officer who is ambitious for captaincy. Performers in less important roles rate more than the token mention that limited space permits. Top honors, however, go to Lloyd Nolan. As the bosun of the mutineers he gives a performance that excels his portrayal of Commander Queeg in *The Caine Mutiny*, and it will remain indelible in the memory of fortunate theatregoers who see it.

THE GOOD SOUP, now at the Plymouth, by sponsorship of David Merrick, is an acidulous French comedy by Félicien Marceau. In colloquial Amer-

ican, the title means the gravy train, getting the good things of life the easy way. The scene of the story is Paris, Monte Carlo and environs, and the leading character is an aging cocotte looking back on the road she has traveled to success in her profession. The retrospect is not pleasing.

Her ride on the gravy train has given her ample material possessions—more money than she can ever spend or lose at gambling, a plethora of gems and fine clothes, and what Walter Pater calls "a life of refined pleasure and action in a conspicuous place in the world." Still, her "success" has the taste of ashes, and she wonders if the ride has been worth-while.

Ruth Gordon, always an ingratiating performer, is splendid in her rendering of moral decay in the role of the disillusioned courtesan. Any one of her gestures is worth ten lines of the author's script.

In the pattern of the play the mature cocotte regretfully looks back on her wasted life while flashbacks show crucial episodes in her past as a conniving harlot. Diane Cilento is persuasively brash and callous as an unscrupulous girl on the make.

The veterans Sam Levene, Ernest Truex and Mildred Natwick handle their roles with their usual skill, and Miss Natwick deserves special mention for her deft portrayal of a naive wife who doesn't suspect her husband of carrying on with his mistress right under her nose. Failure to mention Jules Munshin's performance, as the croupier who listens while the cocotte

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tells the story of her sordid past, would be a serious delinquency.

Garson Kanin directed the production and Jacques Noel designed the mobile sets. Both gentlemen were capable in their respective tasks. They have provided convincing background and atmosphere for an ironic comedy that Miss Gordon's performance lifts to the level of a sophisticated morality play.

THEOPHILUS LEWIS

THE WORD

Who didst establish the salvation of mankind on the tree of the cross, that whence death came into the world, thence new life might spring, and that he who by the tree overcame, by the tree might be overthrown (From the Preface of the Mass for Passiontide).

There are two questions which the interested may and ought to ask about every recorded incident (the technical term is *mystery*) in the mortal life of the Word Incarnate, the Redeemer of mankind. The first question is the factual, the historical one: What happened? The other is the theological or ascetical query: What does it mean?

These twin interrogations become particularly pointed when, as now, we who believe in and love Christ our Lord enter with Holy Mother Church into the final stage of Lent, the annual fortnight in which we explicitly commemorate the passion and death of our Saviour.

Perhaps it would be more than interesting to note that a remarkable new chronology for the tragic events of the first Holy Week has been proposed by an eminent representative of contemporary distaff-scholarship. It seems likely that in our Lord's day a calendar dispute existed among the Jews as to the dating of the Passover; certainly a similar quarrel broke out in an early Christian era on the dating of Easter. On the supposition that our Saviour, for the last Passover of His life, followed the more ancient, less current Jewish calendar, He and His disciples ate the paschal meal on Tuesday evening. The agony in the garden, the betrayal and arrest took place during the night of Tuesday-Wednesday. The Jewish trial before the Sanhedrin was held Wednesday morning, the verdict of blasphemy being reached not before noon of that day. Negotiations were then opened with the Roman governor

for ratification of the Sanhedrin's death sentence. But the Roman insisted on a hearing of his own, and this interrogation was not convened before Thursday morning. Almost at once Pilate remanded the case to the court of Herod Antipas, prince of Galilee, whose insulting mock trial consumed the remainder of the court day. The final trial opened before Pilate on Friday morning, and all else in the sad history proceeded as we have known it.

Whatever be their timing, the events of the first Holy Week stand forever graven upon Christian memory. The passion of Christ began most mysteriously: He suffered even to blood before any violent hand was laid upon Him. We will never know what really transpired there under the aged olive trees. We only know that a fierce struggle took place in the human soul of the God-man, that awful suffering was somehow involved, that our Saviour emerged shaken but victorious from a conflict in which human guilt played a monstrous part. There followed the bitter betrayal, the police arrest which the Son of Man had so often eluded or defied, the sorry defection of His closest friends. Next came the three legal proceedings, all of them marked by cynical injustice and rank brutality.

Setting aside casual beatings, the actual physical torture of our Lord was reserved for the end of the dreadful business. The horror of human scourging is dimly sensed in such expressions as "horsewhipped" and "whipped like a dog." Christ was well whipped by coarse mercenaries whose common sport was bloodletting and whose detestation of Jews and all things Jewish was boundless. It was the cruel humor of these professional killers that brought about what the Roman governor had not ordered—a thorny, lacerating mock coronation of the helpless prisoner who comically claimed to be a king.

Last of all came the actual gibbeting. Perhaps the upright of the cross was already in place. The wrists of Christ were spiked to the transverse as it lay on the ground, and then, half-crucified, He was hauled to His feet to be lifted to His last appalling resting place in this world. The three hours of unspeakable torment followed, while, there at His bleeding feet, His transfixed Mother stood in horror and agony and awful silence. The end, when it came, was merciful; and Christ hung dead upon the tree.

This, then, is what happened in the first passiontide. We must next ask the true question: What does it all mean?

VINCENT P. MCCORRY, S.J.